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MODES & MANNERS

OF THE

NINETEENTH CENTURY

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Court-dress
Gallery of fashion, London, 1798

MODES & MANNERS

OF THE

NINETEENTH CENTURY

AS REPRESENTED IN THE PICTURES
AND ENGRAVINGS OF THE TIME

BY

DR. OSKAR FISCHEL AND
MAX VON BOEHN

TRANSLATED BY M. EDWARDES

WITH AN INTRODUCTION
BY GRACE RHYS

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INTRODUCTION

THE North American Indian is perhaps the person who has most thoroughly realised the possible significance of dress. To him dress was not so much a covering worn for the sake of convenience and fashion as a symbol of his state of mind. I have been told that a Red Indian prepared for the war-path, shaven, feathered, and chalked, is the most hideous emblem of the horrors of war that the artifice of man has ever produced. To test its success one need only glance at the mass of literature that has grown up round the subject.

It is to the passions of the primitive man and their translation into dress and ornament that we owe a considerable amount of our local colour in costume; but there is another source from which much charm is still derived—the reflection of natural conditions in dress, hardened into custom. How wonderfully do the garish colours of the gipsy's clothes still suggest the oriental suns; how do the thirty embroidered petticoats of the Bulgarian young woman suggest the accumulated weight of custom, the lonely valleys, the wide coffer, and the still house; how empty of pleasure would our children's books be without the reindeer-skins of the Esquimaux, the Japanese umbrella, the turban of Arabia!

It is of no use to grieve over the inevitable, over the sweep of universal law as it comes rapidly into action; but what a lament might be raised over the imminent disappearance of local art in dress. In the British Isles the destruction is all but complete; within the last ten years, the last native Welsh costume has mouldered away in the farmhouse chest; the Irish maiden has discarded the head-shawl from beneath

which she used to smile so sweetly; and the Highland girl has learned to import the fashions by post from Manchester. And this process is going on all the world over; so rapid is it and so sudden that it is as yet all but unobserved.

To European dress and its changes, we must look not for the charm and interest of primitive custom and feeling, but for the large expression of a social history common to all men. Fashion in dress follows behind the human catastrophes and triumphs, as Harlequin and Columbine follow with their tricks the serious actors on the stage.

No trait can better illustrate the frenzy of luxury that possessed the wealthy and powerful classes of Europe than a study of eighteenth-century dress. At a time when black bread and wild herbs were the food of the people, national property was wasted in the riot of personal splendour. How clear a prophecy this seems to us now of the French Revolution and the shaken thrones of Europe. Take for instance such a description as this of the wedding-dress of Frederick the Great's daughter in the early years of the century.

"The jewels worn by the bride were valued at four millions of dollars. She had a coronet, set with diamonds and pear-shaped pearls, which alone was estimated at one million; her train was borne by six maids of honour, who, on account of the great weight of the precious stones with which it was garnished, had two pages to assist them. The total weight of the bridal attire is said to have been nearly a hundred pounds."

So much suffices for the princess; the great gentleman of Paris was not far behind her in expense. Madame de Sévigné gives a charming account of the wedding toilet of the Prince de Condé. "Let me tell you the finest, the most extraordinary piece of news in the world," says she, in her delightful way. "Here it is; yesterday the prince was shaved! This is no illusion, neither is it a bit of gossip; it is the solemn truth: the whole court was witness of the ceremony, and Madame de Langeron, seizing the moment when he had his paws crossed like a lion, slipped upon him a waistcoat with

Gainsborough MRS. SIDDONS

diamond buttons. A *valet de chambre*, abusing his patience, frizzed him, powdered him, and at last reduced him to the condition of the handsomest courtier imaginable, with a head of hair that easily extinguished all the wigs. These are the prodigies of the wedding. His suit was inestimably lovely; it was embroidered in very large diamonds, following the lines of a black pattern, on a straw-coloured velvet ground. They say that the straw colour was not effective, and that Madame de Langeron, who is the soul of all the splendours of the Hôtel de Condé, was quite upset: and truly, such misfortunes are the most grievous in life. . . . But, indeed, I was forgetting the best of all, which is that the Prince's sword had a handle of diamonds. The lining of his mantle was of black satin sewn with diamonds." So did the great gallants "carry a manor on their backs"; and the great ladies a farm or two tied to their fan-strings, or a whole village round their necks.

Up to the very year of the Revolution, 1789, gentlemen's clothes were exceedingly smart. From Hogarth an excellent idea of English dress of the day may be had; always remembering that his day was the earlier eighteenth century, and that dress became more absurd afterwards. Although Hogarth was first and foremost a prophet, as daring and savage in his denunciations of wickedness as any character in the Old Testament, yet such is his delicacy and perfection as an artist that his creations are still as vivid as any living creature of to-day. Take, for example, the singer in the drawing-room scene of "Marriage à la Mode"; what a consummate picture of able-bodied foppery! Then we have the knee-breeches, the long-flapped waistcoat, the gold-laced coat with the huge and gorgeously embroidered cuffs, the absurd bows, brooches, and earrings, so cleverly matched to an inimitable folly of countenance.

It was the Revolution that sounded the knell of masculine gaiety of dress. The follies of women's costuming were not at all affected; the fashions for women merely altered, and in fact became to the full as absurd and extravagant in

PORTRAITS OF MR AND MRS LINDOW — ROMNEY

another mode. But the day of the fine gentleman was over; no more were seen the superb wigs, the long queue, the powder, the painted face, the gaily coloured clothes, the bright coat, the embroidered waistcoat, the striped silk pantaloons, the two watches, the immense chains, the innumerable seals.

"My friend," says a lady, writing at that day, "wears such a collection of charms attached to his two huge watch-chains that when I miss hearing the accustomed noise of himself and his horse, the rattling and clanking of his seals sufficiently advertise the fact of his arrival."

France had for some time been giving the law in fashion, so that the London gallant's dress of this date differed very little from that of the Frenchman. In the year 1772 the Macaroni Club was founded in contradistinction to the Beefsteak Club. The Macaroni Club introduced the Italian style, and its members became famous for their cultivated and Italianised extravagance. A Macaroni became a byword. He wore an enormous toupee, great side-curls, a huge club or knot that rested on the back of his neck like a porter's knot; a very small hat, a short coat, tight breeches of striped and spotted silk, the inevitable two watches, and enormous bunches of strings at the knee. "Sixteen-string Jack" was a noble and admired figure of this period.

The women of this date were not to be outdone by the men. They powdered too; they used quantities of pomatum, and with this double ingredient the hair was stiffened out into large curls; or being drawn back from the forehead, was swelled out into a *chignon*. "False hair was very generally worn, and every variety of coiffure; *French curls* that resembled eggs strung on a wire; *Italian curls*, done back from the face, and often called *scallop shells;* and German curls, which were a mixture of Italian and French. Behind, the hair was curled all over and called a *tête de mouton*." Powder and pomatum were used in such quantities to build up these erections (which indeed often attained the height of a foot

and a half), that it was impossible to dress a lady's hair every day. Often the coiffure was left untouched and perfect for a week, a fortnight, or even more. Here we have a complete approximation to the ideals and practice of Fiji. One amiable writer of the period remarks: "I consent, also, to the present fashion of curling the hair, so that it may stand a month without combing; though I must confess that I think three weeks or a fortnight might be a sufficient time. But I bar every application to those foreign artists, who advertise that they have the secret of making up a lady's head for a quarter of a year."

Such portentous vanities as these are not altogether out of the way: one can even admire a certain wild and savage art in these erections; I have been told that a free negro king of central Africa, with his hair permanently dressed into a black tower a foot and a half high, and hung with ornaments of barbaric gold, is a magnificent object when seen among tropical surroundings. Similarly, a beautiful white woman, fantastically dressed, her fair face surmounted by a white tower of hair, is an interesting specimen of a certain kind of art.

But what can be said of the *capriole*, that last expression of folly, from whose appearance in society one might augur not one but many revolutions?

A poet of the day thus describes it:—

"Here, on a fair one's head-dress, sparkling sticks,
Swinging on silver springs, a coach and six;
There, on a sprig or slop'd pourpon, you see
A chariot, sulky, chaise, or *vis-à-vis*."

Here is another couplet from the same production:—

"Nelly! where is the creature fled?
Put my post-chaise upon my head."

It is almost incredible that such a preposterous idea could have occurred to any society, but its public appearance is a fact. A writer of the day gives an account of this invention.

MARRIAGE À LA MODE: "THE COUNTESS'S DRESSING ROOM" HOGARTH

"The vehicle itself was constructed of gold threads, and was drawn by six dapple greys of blown glass, with a coachman, postilion, and gentleman within of the same brittle manufacture. . . . Those heads which are not able to bear a coach and six (for vehicles of this sort are very apt to crack the brain) so far act consistently as to make the use of a post-chariot, or a single horse chaise with a beau perching in the middle." Not only the post-chaise and horses were worn, but models of sedan-chairs and attendant chairmen were also used as a head-dress.

Close upon such feats of the toilet as these followed the grim realities of the French Revolution. We have been fortunate in our Thomas Carlyle, a writer who deals with this event both in its least and its greatest exhibition. In his "French Revolution" and in "Sartor Resartus" he has spent immense pains to show both the significance and the insignificance of dress;—its significance taken as a sign of the times and the general temper of men; its insignificance in the catalogue of human worth. He can treat of a diamond necklace till his reader sees, not the mere string of stones sparkling enough to please easy or innocent eyes, but a symbol of man's greed. He can divine nobility under a peasant's rags, or stupidity even though dressed in gold tissue. How fearful is his double portrait of Marie-Antoinette, first young, beautiful, gorgeous; then stripped, broken, and grey!

It is little to be wondered at if such a social upheaval had astonishing consequences as far as dress was concerned. As we have already seen, the *insouciant* gaiety of men's dress disappeared never to return. As for women, away went powder, hoops, and brocades. The ideal of life that worked in men's minds beneath all the horror of that time was freshly translated into dress. Having got rid of the tyranny of the aristocracy, all luxury, folly, and artificiality were to be done away with. The Athenian costume was chosen as best expressing the thought of the day. The astonishing apparition of the *sans-culotte*, or the Parisian dressed in tunic and mantle, began to be seen. The Parisian woman

of as much fashion as was left appeared no longer dressed, but draped and filleted.

Such doings in Paris had of course an immense effect on English dress: those who favoured the French Revolution in this country endeavoured to show their opposition to aristocracy by ignoring all the distinctions hitherto observed between the dress of a nobleman or man of fashion and the ordinary citizen. The leader of this movement was Fox, who was no doubt glad to pass off his natural untidiness as zeal for a noble cause. Carelessness of dress—studied carelessness in most cases—now became the fashion, and Fox startled Parliament by appearing in top-boots and a great-coat at a sitting in the House where hitherto the Court dress had always been worn. It was he who proposed the taxing of powder to Pitt, and after this powdered wigs or "heads" were seldom heard of. The rough-cropped head called a Brutus became fashionable, and every brawler could now show a sound classical reason for his dishevelment. A curious anecdote is told of the revolution in Naples at the beginning of the nineteenth century which illustrates the possible political significance of the coiffure. "The royalists," says a writer of the day, "seized all those whom they suspected of being inimical to their party, but instead of questioning their captives they adopted a novel and summary way of discovering their political sentiments—they merely looked whether their heads gloried in queues or not. If they possessed this appendage, which was considered as strictly loyal, they were instantly liberated; but woe to those whose love of French modes had persuaded them to drop their pigtails! Words, entreaties, prayers were unavailing; the test of loyalty was not there, and the queueless Neapolitans fell victims to their adoption of the new fashion, and met the death of traitors, rebels, and insurgents. So deeply did those who had been saved by their coiffure feel the obligation, and also the safeguard it had proved to them, that many are said to have concealed the queue under their coat-collars years after all fear of revolutions had been banished."

INTRODUCTION

Although the French Revolution provided a check to the luxury and absurdity of men's costumes, that of women soon became as preposterous and extravagant as ever. The Empress Josephine appeared at Court in a dress of tissue of gold embroidered in large emeralds enlivened by rivulets of diamonds, with a tiara, combs, earrings, and necklace of emeralds. As for the coiffure, the year 1840 saw some fine inventions, to the full as absurd as the black owl head-dress that Madame de Sévigné describes so delightfully. The *giraffe* now appeared, a tower of bows, ribands, combs, and feathers, and the *casque* head-dress was not far behind it in the race for monstrosity.

Curiously enough, the zeal for the natural and simple first developed by the French after the Revolution gave rise to a mischievous convention. It became fashionable for women to go about lightly draped in thin muslins. The dress of a young lady in January snows consisted of a scanty muslin frock open at the neck, diaphanous white stockings, and slight thin slippers. Consumption became fashionable; it was called decline, and considered poetic. Fainting and hysterics were studied as a fine art. Eating became a vulgar indulgence as far as women were concerned, and appetites were furtively satisfied behind the scenes. Even when the slim white muslins disappeared, giving way before the prodigious crinoline, the theory of the ethereal nature of woman remained in full force, and hysteria became the unlucky mistress of many a household.

Great events have curious lateral consequences: as the French Revolution became the unlikely parent of white muslin and feminine collapse, so the sudden effusion of scientific thought in the seventies and eighties fathered a rapid movement in the direction of natural and healthful dress. Science made the discovery of hygiene, and something like a revolution in the household quickly followed. As a direct consequence we have now a new force amongst us, a strong current of public opinion in favour of national health, and good sense in clothes and domestic manners.

Side by side with the hygienic movement there has arisen another; the seventies in London saw the birth of what has been called æstheticism. This effort in a fresh direction was simply a conscious reaction in art against the unconscious increase of ugliness in human life. The cunning of men in circumventing the laws of nature (which demand beauty

Cruikshank MONSTROSITIES OF 1822

everywhere) for their own private advantage, had become quite newly developed in the middle-Victorian years. In order that the minority should enjoy a hundred times their share of the beauty of the world, a quite new measure of ugliness was forced on the majority. Architectural hideousness became a national sin. Picturesqueness and gaiety vanished from ordinary town and country life; there was no time left for them. English cottage loveliness was stolen

away to provide for the upspringing of innumerable villas. This new development was met by the sudden invention of new combinations of colour and form in dress and domestic arrangement, a movement which, beginning in a high class of society, is now rapidly spreading downward and influencing manufacture.

Another force which will have untold effect on the dress of the twentieth century is the Socialist tendency. The lower ranks of society are being levelled up; distinctions in dress are being done away with; the present state of men's costume is a most curious one, the whole of the male adults of the Western race being restricted by custom to two or three identical uniforms. There are symptoms that a like process is at work in women's dress. It is interesting to try and forecast how these three tendencies will act upon each other in the future. There are already signs that the empire of Paris over the world's dress is shaken; a greater originality of ideas obtains in England; the less judicious public opinion of Paris has of late attempted to introduce fashions which have been totally refused. Such was the French fashion in bicycling costumes, which the good sense of Englishwomen declined. The French are remarkable for the tasteless dressing of children; although in neatness and smartness they are still supreme, it does not seem as though ideas for the dress of the future would proceed from Paris.

In the days of the "Spectator" a half-serious proposal was made by that censor of manners that a female parliament should sit on all matters connected with women's dress. Such an arrangement may very well come about in the near future; when state committees of artists, thinkers, and practical experts concern themselves with these national matters, we may look for very delightful results indeed.

Lately when climbing on a remote Welsh mountain side I saw higher up among the heather two moving spots of colour, one a peculiar poppy-red, and one a light green that consorted well with the bracken. Coming nearer, I found these moving creatures were two beautiful young girls, both

fair-haired and fair-complexioned, of pure English type, healthful and robust. They were dressed in gowns fashioned after the model of an Arab dress first brought to London, dusty and blood-stained, after the Soudan war. How narrow the world's limits are growing when Saxon maidens in Arab dress can be found straying by a Celtic fastness! Here we have a distinct indication of the lines on which the dress of the future is likely to develop. "What work nobler," says Carlyle, "than transplanting foreign thought into the domestic soil; except indeed planting thought of your own, which the fewest are privileged to do? Wild as it looks, this Philosophy of Clothes, can we ever reach its real meaning, promises to reveal new-coming Eras, the first dim rudiments and already-budding germs of a nobler Era, in Universal History."

GRACE RHYS.

MODES & MANNERS

OF THE

NINETEENTH CENTURY

CHAPTER I

ON the 14th July, 1789, the Bastille was stormed by the populace of Paris; it was the first "act" of the Revolution, and the herald of a new era. The ideas which prepared the way for the French Revolution can be traced back to the beginning of the eighteenth century, and as early as 1713 were confronted by the papal anathema against Modernism; but Clement XI.'s famous Bull "Unigenitus" had no more deterrent effect on Jansenism than the verdict of the French Parliament fifty years later on Rousseau's writings. Any fresh and suggestive idea rescued by the speculative philosophers from the theological controversy rapidly became the common property of all thinking people. Voltaire's elegant cynicism proved to the more frivolous-minded the unnaturalness and artificiality of existing conditions; Rousseau demonstrated to the more thoughtful the possibility of a better state of things founded on the rights of nature. With every succeeding year of the century the opposition of the new ideas, the longing after nature and reason, became more active, as it became, at the same time, constantly more evident that the continuance of the outward and lifeless forms under which the European nations dragged on their political existence were no longer possible. More enlightened monarchs, such as the Emperor Joseph and Charles III. of Spain, endeavoured to bring about a reformation by the better education of the

Isabey NAPOLEON BONAPARTE

people; in vain, for the new ideas could gain no foothold in a feudal state.

The discontent grew apace, and with it an ardent longing; but as yet the general desire had merely been expressed in theory and had found utterance only in literature and fine speeches, when suddenly, on this famous day of July, the Parisians made open display of their demands in the streets of their city, and gave the signal for the fall of a whole social system by their attack on the Bastille. Feudalism, and with it Monarchy, fell, and contemporaries looked on with amazement at the rapid annihilation of conditions, the age-long existence of which alone had made them questionable.

Ideas which had hitherto pleasantly served to occupy the fancy of the aristocrats in their hours of ease, had become facts of life; the ideals of Rousseau's doctrine of the natural rights of man now strove to fit themselves to realities; the citizen class, that had dwelt till now in gloomy hopelessness, saw the dark sky illumined as with fire-balls, by the magic and heart-stirring words, "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity."

To-day, as we look back on that time and see it in connection with what went before and after, and know as we do how little the events that followed fulfilled its enthusiastic hopes; to-day, when the conviction is forced upon us, "que jamais le peuple ne verra le lever du soleil," we can but smile at the wild excesses of the exultant

Schadow PRINCESS FREDERIKA 1794

multitude; but the effect at the time of what happened in Paris was beyond conception widespread and overpowering. In their enthusiasm for the French Revolution, the aged Klopstock and the youthful Schiller met on equal terms; Fichte welcomed it as the dawn of a new age; Hegel as the rising of the sun on a magnificent epoch of the world. Schlözer, whose official Gazette was known as the scourge of the lesser princes of the German Empire, thought he now heard the angels in heaven singing a Te Deum; Johannes von Müller, George Forster, Gentz, Campe, Görres, and Posselt, saw the approaching fulfilment of

their most daring dreams; the sentimental Sophie la Roche compiled books for herself of Mirabeau's speeches. The movement, however, did not confine itself to the circle of literati and scholars, for Heinrich Steffens relates from personal knowledge that the excitement over the unheard-of things that were taking place penetrated into the homes of the humblest subjects.

The gospel of freedom acted like an intoxicant on high and low alike: a German prince, Karl Konstantin of Hesse, became, as Citizen Hesse, a furious partisan of the Jacobins; the Princess Rosalie Lubomirska's excited sympathy would not allow her to remain on her Polish estates, and she hastened to Paris—to find her death on the scaffold, her tragic fate being shared by Friedrich von der Trenck, another victim of despotism.

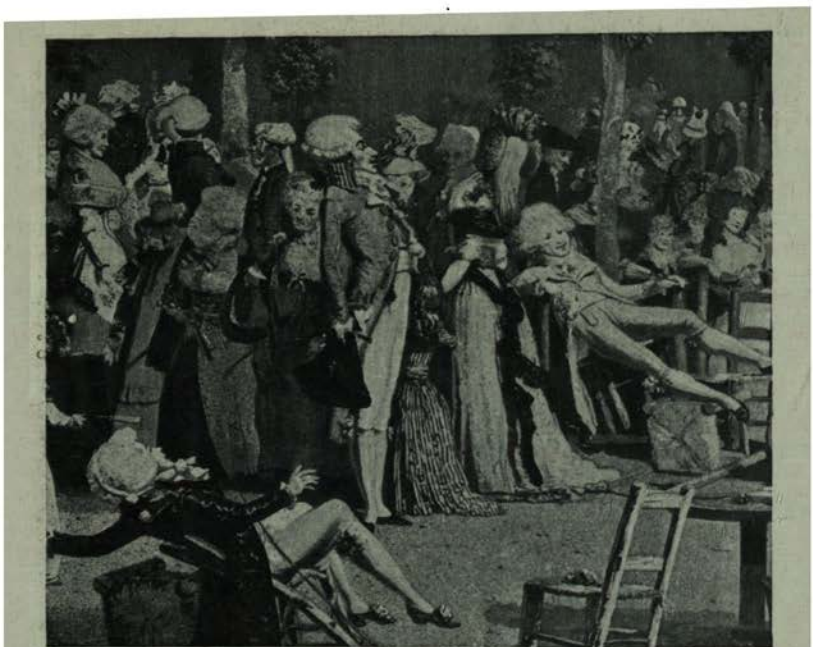
The enthusiasm aroused in Germany, especially among the educated citizen class, by the French Revolution, is not surprising if we take into consideration the prevailing conditions of the country at the close of the eighteenth century. German society then, even more than it is to-day, was ruled by caste, and the upper and middle classes were separated by an insuperable barrier. Position and influence, honours and revenues, fell to the nobility alone; the commoner, however wealthy or clever he might be, was *ipso facto* a second-class person, and as such shut out from all the higher posts in government and army; a principle of Government which acts as injuriously as effectually when put into practice. The novels and plays of this period chose for their favourite theme the troubled tale of lovers of unequal birth, the tragedy of which we can hardly appreciate nowadays when equality and inequality depend entirely on money. At that time the

marriage of a nobleman with one of lower class meant exclusion, not only for himself, but also for his descendants, from numerous privileges which were conditional on the preservation of the family tree from any contamination; he risked the loss of his rights of primogeniture and feudal lordship, of ecclesiastical preferment and admission to the Teutonic order, without taking into account the constant social humiliations to which he and his were subjected. We may

Moses *Le beau Monde*

From "Costumes Modernes"

quote, for examples of this state of things, that only those of the nobility who could certify their descent through sixteen generations were admitted to the assemblies in the *Redoutenhaus* at Mainz; that at the weekly entertainment given by the Elector, officers of the citizen class were admitted, it is true—but they had to remain standing bolt upright, while their more aristocratic colleagues were allowed to sit! At Mannheim the citizens, though paying the same for their entrance, were only permitted to occupy the back seats at the theatre, and at Linz the performances were not begun until the nobility had all taken their places. In the academy where Schiller was educated, the nobles and the commoners ate at separate tables, and in Berlin a woman of the middle-classes



Debucourt *From "Promenade in the Palais Royal"* 1792

was forced, should she chance to meet a countess in any public place, to seat herself at least six chairs away from her. Only the nobility danced at the balls given at the Baths of Pyrmont; men and women of the inferior class, although equally part of the society of the establishment, had to be contented with looking on. It went further still at Freienwald, where in 1798 the young nobles of Pomerania and the Mark bound themselves by word of honour not to dance with any woman beneath them in rank! The Saxon saloon at Karlsbad was reserved for the nobility, but here at least the lesser worth of the more humbly born visitor was taken into account in the fee for the baths, which was two florins for the aristocratic bather and one for the ordinary.

Endless accounts of the insulting and overbearing behaviour of the officers of high family to those beneath them

Debucourt *From "Promenade in the Palais Royal"* 1792

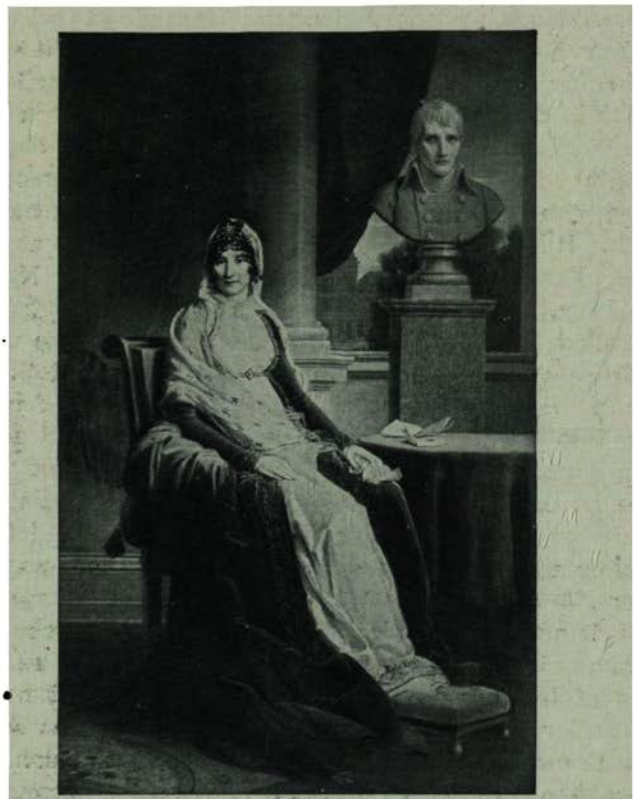
reach us, especially from Prussia, about this time, but their arrogance was not confined to North Germany. • At Stuttgart, for example, in 1786, a Lieutenant von Boehn had a Counsellor of the Exchequer, a man of the citizen class, taken in charge and fined five-and-twenty pounds for not having, as he considered, shown sufficient respect in saluting him!— a pretence for getting money which no doubt was of assistance to him in his career. The author of "The Robbers" was obliged to get himself ennobled before his wife could be admitted to Court, and Goethe, Herder, Johannes von Müller, had to thank, not their literary eminence, but circumstances of a similar character for the addition of "von" to their names. The middle-classes were subjected to daily insults and humiliations, purely on account of their inferiority of birth, and although every man among them did not take his

Tischbein QUEEN LUISE AND HER SISTER FREDERIKA

treatment so much to heart as young Jerusalem, who shot himself at Wetzlar because he was excluded from the high and noble society assembled for the tea-parties at Count

Bassenheim's, we can understand from this to what a pitch of hatred and bitterness those men were wrought who were self-conscious enough to know the value of their self-acquired worth in comparison with the advantages of fortune. In the literature, including letters and diaries, of that day we frequently come across the expression that this person or that "is a man in the noblest sense," in spite of his aristocratic birth. It is true that some high-born men, such as Fürstenberg, Reventlow, Galitzin, Moltke, Bernstorff, Nesselrode, Stollberg, Dalberg, and others, all men of high intellect, extended their friendship to those beneath them who were their equals or superiors in mental ability; but the instant one of the latter forgot that he was only admitted on sufferance into the higher circle, or wished to become a member of a superior family—as Gerhard Kügelgen, for instance, who wooed Lilla von Manteuffel—he was immediately made aware of the insuperable barriers that excluded him, and innumerable difficulties were placed in the way of the lovers.

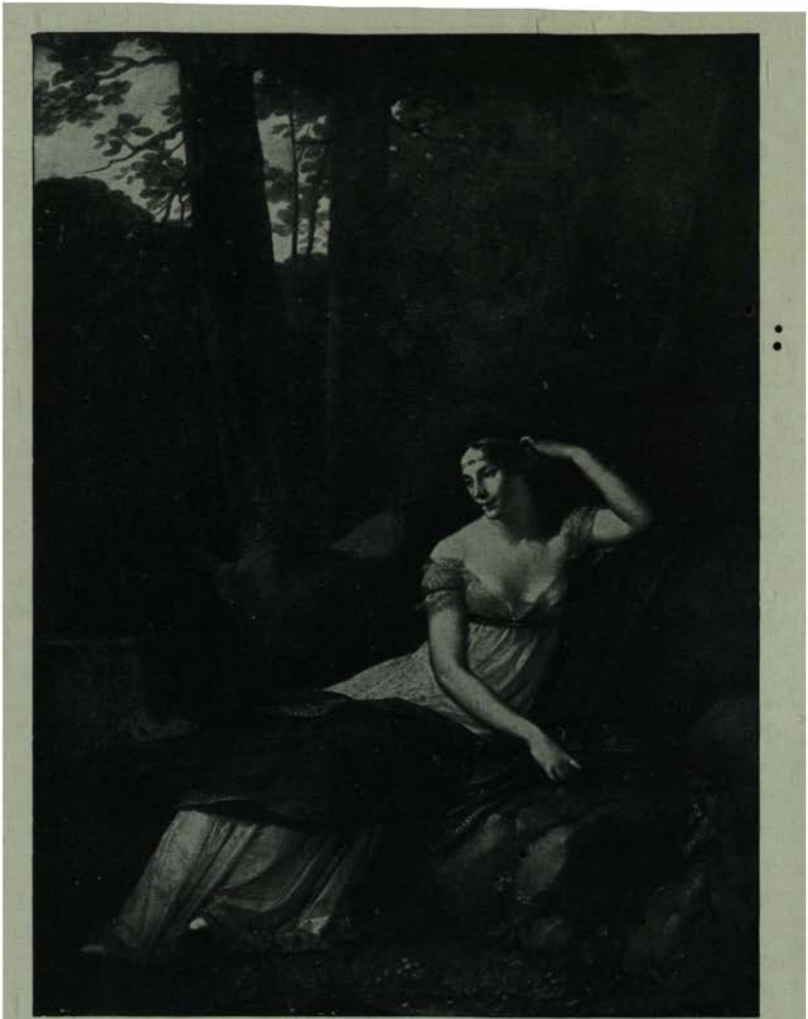
It is not to be wondered at, that under such circumstances Germany joined in the general rejoicing, seeing in the beginning of happier conditions in France a promise of better things for herself. All the more convinced was everybody that France had done well to rid herself of such baggage when floods of emigrants, all privileges and prerogatives having been swept away in the first years of the Revolution, came pouring into Germany, England, and Russia. As in process of time the radical element got the upper hand among the Jacobins, threatening the annihilation of every existing thing in France, the sympathy of the propertied classes became less pronounced, and the awakening anxiety of the Governments of Europe led them to put a check if possible on revolutionary ideas. The Prussian Minister, Wöllner, had as far back as 1788 put a peremptory stop to any propaganda tending to enlighten the people; the Government of Austria, in 1793, forbade families to engage French masters, governesses, or servants, and when the



Gérard MME. LAETITIA BONAPARTE

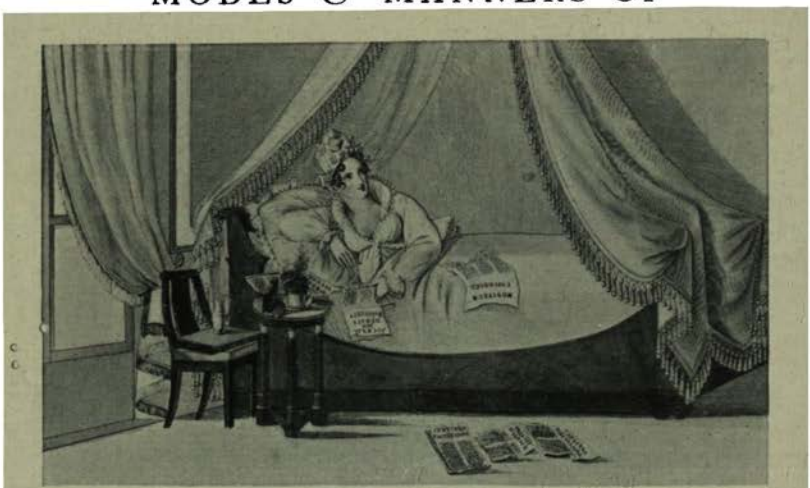
Polish nobility, shortly before the fall of the Republic in 1793, gave the serfs their freedom, Prussia, Austria, and Russia joined in indignant protests against this humane measure which they looked upon as the result of French influence, and made it an excuse for dividing all that remained of Poland among themselves. But where is the police to control the spirit of man!

To turn to the French: an overmastering moral idea was the chief force on their side. The thought of freedom which led them on was a stronger weapon than the arms of the



Prudhon THE EMPRESS JOSEPHINE

unpractised, undisciplined, and ragged army of the Revolutionaries. The Revolution was the triumph of the Idea; before it states fell in ruins to the ground, and the very world itself seemed to have lost its balance with their collapse.

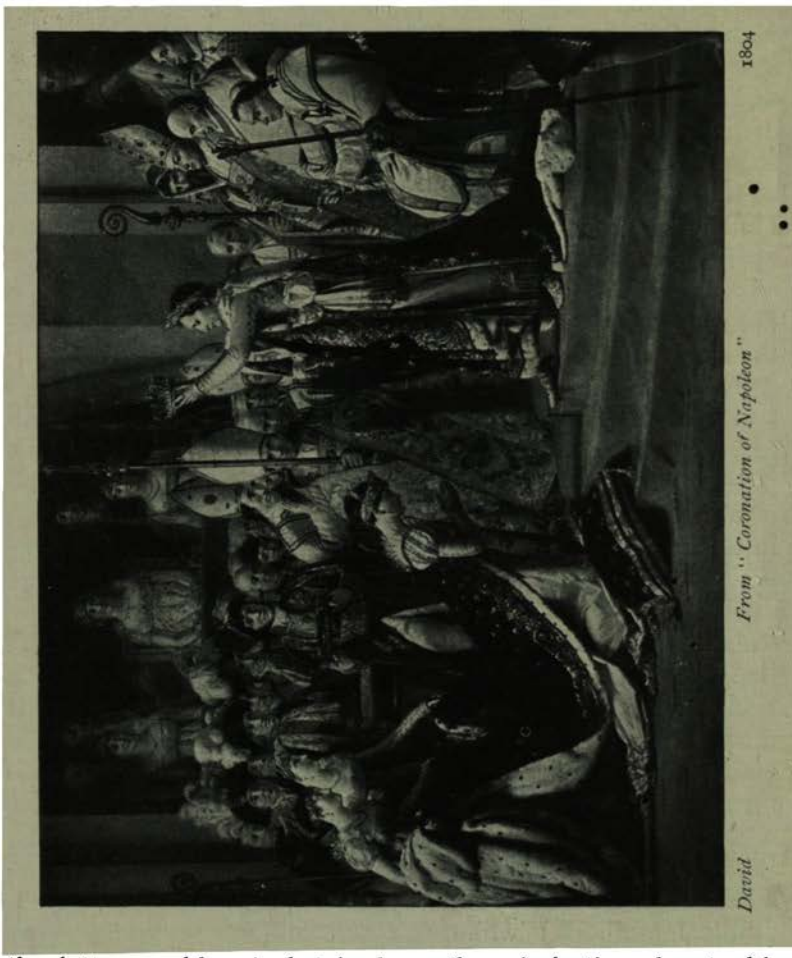


LA POLITICOMANE *French Caricature*

Empire and popedom, constitutions that had stood for centuries and seemed warranted to last for ever, came toppling down like colossal statues resting on feet of clay, burying in their fall all that remained of the Middle Ages —the Venetian Republic and the Order of the Knights of Malta. A very weapon of God, a fate from which none could escape, such to all men appeared the little Corsican general, whose unexampled career of victory on victory kept the whole of Europe in a state of unrest for a period of nearly ten years. Feared as a destroying power that it was impossible to resist, he was yet looked up to as a heroic being whose genius and incredible deeds far surpassed any merely mortal capacity. Napoleon, so gigantically endowed by nature, found none strong enough to oppose him in his work of destruction; the old order of society went down before his arms; he stood at the beginning of a new order of things, which arose independently of him, a man for the world to wonder at, but not to understand. To his fellow-creatures and what concerned them, he was totally indifferent, and ready to sacrifice the lives of millions in cold blood;—

Journal des Dames, 1790

whole countries laid waste and cities burnt to the ground preserved a blood-stained memory of the conqueror. In spite of the personal hate and fear he inspired in his contemporaries,



David 1804

From "Coronation of Napoleon"

the latter could not abstain from the admiration due to his supernatural abilities.

Napoleon awoke neither the love nor the loyalty of his fellows, and when at last his part was played out

and he lay disarmed and helpless, Europe, delivered from the weight of his oppressive personality, drew a sigh of relief, and left the man, before whom it had so lately trembled, to die lonely and forgotten in a forsaken corner of the world. Many of the great ones of the earth fell under his spell; we know what Goethe thought of Napoleon, and that Beethoven dedicated his "Eroica" to him; the Jacobin David and the democrat Johannes von Müller were among his enthusiastic followers; and even when he was a fugitive after his defeat at Leipzig, the Queen of Saxony showered reproaches upon Metternich because the Allies had dared to join in arms against Napoleon, whose cause was God's cause.

The princes of the Confederation of the Rhine were not the only ones who thought differently to this lady; indeed, their opinion was shared by the majority of mankind.

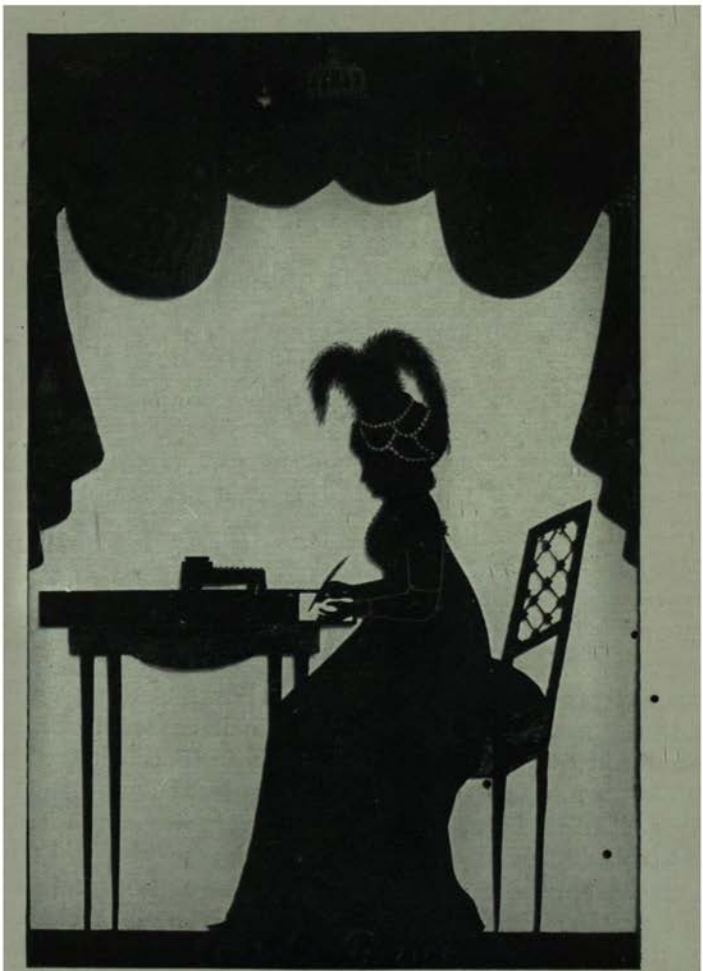
When Napoleon first appeared among the chaotic confusion of the Republic, and the eyes of foreign powers began to be attracted towards him, when he successfully accomplished what had been deemed impossible and brought order into the affairs of France, there were many true patriots even in Germany who looked hopefully in his direction, and a large party in the country still awaited their deliverance from him even after Austria and Prussia had suffered defeat and the Confederation of the Rhine and the kingdom of Westphalia had been already established. These mistaken men have been accused of a lack of patriotism; the accusation is as misplaced as the similar aspersion so frequently made by contending politicians to conceal their own motives or to throw suspicion on those of their adversaries. What we now understand by patriotism was at that time unknown. The French and Germans were guided in their feelings not by a sense of nationality but by their preference for certain political methods; while one side still clung to the older ideas, the other was the friend of progress, and the latter naturally rejoiced when its party won the victory, even though it had wrung something from the French at the expense of the Germans. The French celebrated Frederick II.'s

victory at Rossbach over the forces of the hated Pompadour and her creatures, and the same French in 1814–15 opened their arms to the armies of the Allies that had delivered them from Napoleon.

The Germans have Napoleon to thank for the awakening of their national consciousness; it was reserved for him, who did everything he could to crush those feelings of national individuality which were the most dangerous obstacle to his world-monarchy, to bring the nations that he found disunited into union, as a protection against his unbearable policy, and he was the first to evoke the idea of a common fatherland among the hundred small states into which Germany was then divided. In the same way, the idea of unity was awakened among the Italians when he brought the whole of their country under his sceptre. Poland acquired fresh strength, and to him was due the fact that the Spaniards, the Catalonians and Portuguese, forgot for years their racial hatred. Goethe's cosmopolitan conception of a Fatherland, and Schiller's similar view as expressed in his letters to Körner are too well known to repeat here. The left bank of the Rhine afterwards became French, and French armies ravaged South Germany, while the people of Thuringia, Saxony, and Prussia looked on as if it was no affair of theirs. When the holy Roman Empire of the German nation fell to pieces, Josef Görres pronounced a mocking funeral oration over it; Austria was beaten and humiliated at Austerlitz, whereupon Fichte expressed it as his opinion that "the fatherland of Europeans was Europe." News of the catastrophe at Jena was received with unrestrained and malicious joy in South Germany, where there was not one but rejoiced at the humiliation of the swaggering Prussians, who, as we know from only reading Sethe's recollections of his stay in Münster, made themselves hated wherever they intruded. Napoleon's hand had weighed heavily on Germany for many years when, in 1809, Austria's last drop of blood seemed to have been drained in fighting with her oppressor, and Germany awoke to a sense of general brotherhood. The

immense sacrifices of life and property due to foreign domination contributed not a little to this awakening.

Europe had been called upon to pay the enormous debts which the old French monarchy left as a legacy to the young Republic, forcing the latter to fall back on paper money, to set forty-seven milliard assignats in circulation, and leading in 1797 to the final bankruptcy of the state. The systematic plundering which went on from 1792, when in October of that year Custine extorted a million guldens from Worms and the same from Frankfort, was not confined to Germany alone. Italy paid Napoleon 120 millions in ready money in the course of two years; Brune emptied the treasury of Berne of 5 millions in cash and 18 millions in paper money; Austria had to raise 140 millions after Austerlitz and another 85 millions in 1809; Prussia was drained of 159 millions after Jena, and of another 300 millions after 1807. Thus were the nations forced to pay for their hostility to the French—and their friendship proved not less costly to them: all the public moneys in the provinces on the left bank of the Rhine were converted into assignats, and Westphalia paid a sum of 26 millions for her elevation into a kingdom, and lost her domains into the bargain. The states of the Rhenish Confederation were not spared: in Bavaria government bonds fell about 60 per cent.; there was not sufficient ready money to pay officials their salaries, and these were forced to accept bills of exchange which did not fall due for weeks or months; in Würtemberg the taxes became so heavy that only a fifth of their income remained to the landowners. And all these immense sums had to be raised during a period of commercial depression. In 1799 the Bank at Hamburg failed, bringing ruin to 136 other houses and causing a loss of 36 million *mark banco*. At the beginning of the nineteenth century 300 vessels were lying up in the harbour there, and the insurance companies testified to a loss of 20 millions in three years; and yet Bourrienne and Daconet extorted another 140 millions from this unfortunate town between the dates of November 1806 and May 1814.



Anonymous QUEEN LUISE AT HER WRITING-TABLE *Silhouette*

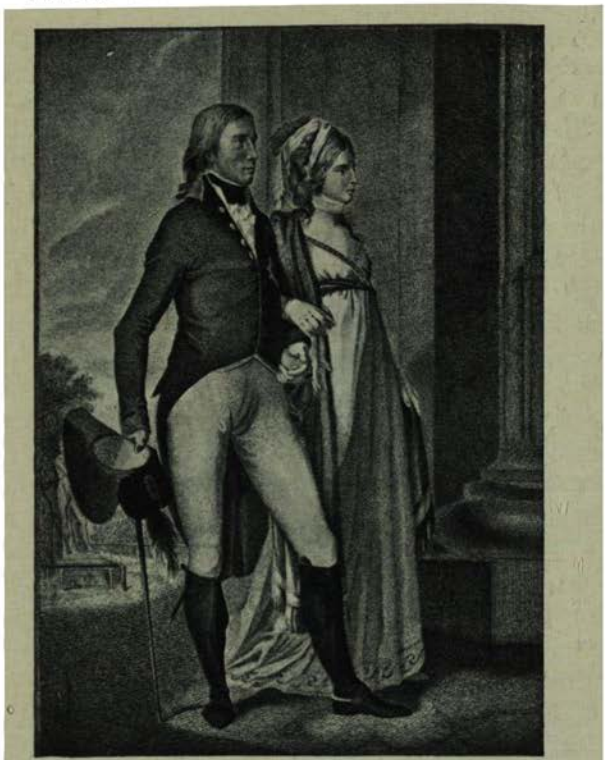
Ternite QUEEN LUISE IN HER RIDING-HABIT

Nüremberg, the centre of commerce in South Germany, was in debt to the amount of 12 millions when it passed to Bavaria, and had for long past paid not a penny to its creditors.

The commercial policy whereby Napoleon hoped to destroy England was in reality the stepping-stone to her world-wide supremacy and unquestionable lordship of the sea. It was otherwise on the Continent, where thousands were ruined by the Berlin decree of a continental blockade, in 1806, while the universal devastation caused by the war resulted in unparalleled distress owing to the lack or excessive price of food. Well-to-do people, like the Kügelgens in Dresden, lived for weeks on commissariat bread and black sausage; Perthe's family in Holstein were for eighteen weeks without meat or white bread; Humboldt's in Rome could

not buy sufficient bread for their daily consumption for 18 groschen. In Dalmatia the host allowed his guest to choose which cat he would like best for his dinner, and poor people like the parents of Ludwig Adrian Richter never tasted meat unless one of their neighbours had the good fortune to steal a cow. Even a large landowner, such as was Achim von Arnim, had to depend on the 30 thalers he received as editor of the Prussian correspondence for his means of livelihood. The enormous rise in prices occasioned a riot in London in 1800, and the soldiers had to be called out to suppress it. It was this dearth of the bare necessities of food which first brought the potato, since so universally familiar, into consideration; at that time it was a stranger to the table, and French cooks were at such a loss to know how to deal with it, that it was decided in all seriousness in Paris, in 1795, that to make the potato eatable it must be dried as fruits are dried.

But as if extortion and famine were not enough, conscription also claimed its victims. Napoleon, who exclaimed to Metternich, "What —— do I care for the lives of a million men?" impressed into his service the flower of the youth of Europe, even boys of fifteen and sixteen years of age, to be ruthlessly slaughtered on his fields of battle. By 1813, one million four hundred thousand men had been levied in France alone. Between 1805–15, the army of Würtemberg was thrice entirely re-manned; and finally, in Bavaria, natives and foreigners of the best families were seized in the streets, in order to make up the required contingents. In Austria the villages had to be surrounded at night by soldiers, and the conscripts carried off manacled like prisoners. The army, so composed, lived on the plunder of the enemy's territory, and the whole Continent from Cadiz to Moscow was a prey to every horror incident to a barbarously conducted campaign, the wanton devastation of cultivated lands and the looting of defenceless towns being mere everyday occurrences. Eye-witnesses of the two terrible days of Jena and Weimar supply evidence of the

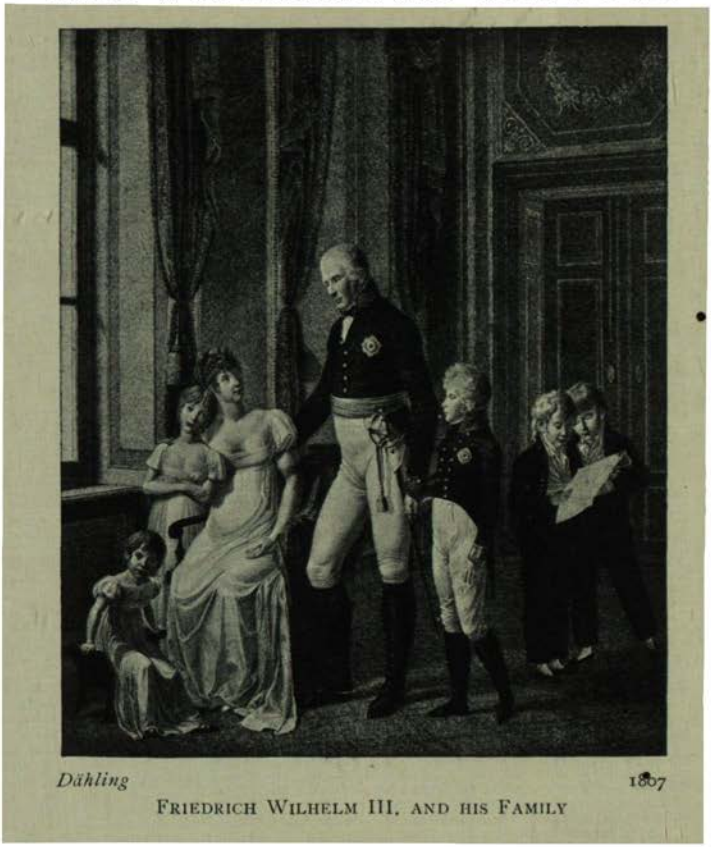


Nettling, after Hampe 1798

FRIEDRICH WILHELM III. AND LUISE

hideous scenes that took place. Frau von Stein was one of many who lost the whole of her property; and the pen refuses to transcribe the barbarities related by Schepeler, of which the French were guilty at Evora, Leiria, Segovia, and Tarragona. The exploits of the French army were organised brigandage. Brokers who had advanced money followed the armies, and indemnified themselves with the private as well as the public property found within the captured towns; in this way art treasures of priceless value were dispersed. Richard Duppa, writing from Rome, reports that the whole of the Raffaele cartoons could be bought for

Journal des Dames, 1791



Dähling 1807

FRIEDRICH WILHELM III. AND HIS FAMILY

1250 thalers; while in Spain, in return for a few hundred francs, silver art work was melted down worth a hundred times that value. The Gallic barbarians brought their lust for devastation and destruction along with them from their home, and in the same spirit with which they had furiously sought to destroy everything in France in the tumultuous desire for freedom, they afterwards fell upon the monuments of the past in Italy, France, and Germany. The fate of the royal tombs at St. Denis was shared by those in the Escurial, in Lugo and Alcobaça; at Monte Cassino the spot may still be recognised where the treasures of the convent were burnt,

and not a church stands in Spain but bears the traces of its ruthless treatment at the hands of the French. The military commanders set the example of robbery and pillage. Napoleon's marshals systematically undertook the despoliation of Spain, Sebastiani looted Murcia, Suchet Arragon, Massena Portugal, Augereau Catalonia; Dupont's overthrow near Baylen was brought about entirely through the avarice of those in command who were anxious not to forsake their booty. Every officer, every official, made up his mind to enrich himself in the enemy's country, and it may be safely said that no French functionary left the Rhinelands or Westphalia with his pockets empty. Nobody was sure of their own property; even the Pope had the rings torn from his fingers and the snuff-box from his hand by Rudolf Emanuel von Haller. It was looked upon as a mark of unheard-of generosity in those days that Bernadotte when in Hanover, and General Chabran when in Barcelona, did not carry off their hosts' silver plate.

And the same people, who did not know from one day to another to what country they belonged, whether they were Prussians, Westphalians, or French, who were forced to look on helplessly at the loss of their goods and chattels, and the destruction of their landed property, were equally liable at any moment to be deprived of their personal liberty if by evil chance they had aroused Napoleon's ill-will towards them. It is only too well known how the Duc d'Enghien and the bookseller Palm were shot without even a show of justice, how Rudolf Zacharias Becker was imprisoned at Magdeburg, and to what persecution the Freiherr von Stein, Friedrich von Gentz, Pozzo di Borgo, and others were subjected by his implacable hate. Apart from the instability of the political conditions there was a feeling of public insecurity which neither police or law-courts had power to allay.

During the last decade of the eighteenth century all semblance of order had disappeared in France; robber bands, 200, 300, and even 800 strong, roamed the country,

Journal des Dames, 1793

Lahde FRIEDRICH VI. OF DENMARK AND FAMILY 1810

and the ill-famed *chauffeurs* used torture to force confessions from their victims, reminding us of Swedish horrors during the Thirty Years' War. Knights of the road had a high time of it in Italy, and even in England highwaymen again became a terror to travellers as in the former days of Queen Anne and George I. In Germany, Schinderhannes collected his band of sixty-five on the Hunsrück, and became the scourge of the country for miles around; the more mountainous districts were beset with robbers, while Damian Hessel and Fetzer in the Cologne district, Hans of Constance in Baden, the much-dreaded robber-chief Karasek in Bohemia, and Johann Dahmen of Crefeld in Westphalia, went openly about with their armed followers. The prisons in Russia grew so overcrowded that the convicts after 1802 began to be deported to Siberia.

Side by side with these robber bands who carried on their profession in great style, were swindlers who flourished more in the shade. From 1802–4 there lived in Heidelberg one Carl Grandisson, who was both rich and respected, until it came to light that he derived his income from robbing the post-office; in 1815 in Lübeck, during a shooting-match, the contents of the city treasury were quietly carried off. The affair, however, which created the greatest sensation at this time was the murder at Perleberg of the English envoy, Lord Bathurst; some imagined Napoleon to have been the instigator of the crime, but the affair remains a mystery. Piracy, which had been the privilege of the Barbary States, along the Mediterranean, was now openly carried on by English traders, and men speculated in privateers on the London Stock Exchange. Many an honourable merchant of Stettin, Hamburg, and Bremen was ruined by these licensed sea-robbers, for the affair was not so entertaining for the victims as Captain Marryat makes it out to be in his novels. Where thousands were reduced to poverty, others again, less well off before, now became rich; and it was during this period, when everything was changing hands, that the Torlonias, the Rothschilds, the Hopes, Eichthals, and others first began to make their fortunes.

In this tottering state of general affairs the individual was often reduced to an adventurous style of existence. Europe in the course of thirty years had seen princes of ancient lineage deprived of their crowns, murdered or executed, fleeing or in prison; the proudest nobles of France were forced to beg their bread in foreign lands, or to eke out a penurious

Dähling DEATH OF QUEEN LUISE 1811

existence by making use of their talents. Dukes, counts, and marquises, well trained in all the arts required for hanging about a court, carried their French culture abroad into England or Germany, as cooks, hairdressers, or fencing-masters. The Duke of Chartres, a prince of the blood, exercised the duties of a schoolmaster, in preparation for a future as king.

Fortune, who was now dealing so hardly with her former favourites, filled their vacant places with the worst of parvenus. Peasants, ostlers, clerks, became marshals, princes, and dukes; a waiter was made King of Naples, a clerk

King of Sweden—for the Corsican played with crowns and kingdoms as a juggler with oranges. Great and small alike were subjected to ups and downs of fortune. A man in a high government post in Prussia was reduced to wandering about as director of a company of strolling players, until on the bursting of the great soap-bubble, he was set on his feet again and became Counsellor of the Exchequer.

The world must have felt as if awaking from a wild dream, when after such a prolonged period of unrest the noise and glare of the Napoleonic Empire died away like the crackling of fireworks. Everything was again as it had been before, and kings and states hastened to assure themselves that what had happened was but a passing delusion. At the Vienna Congress, as centuries before at Münster and Osnabrück, strangers settled the affairs of Germany. Russia saved Baden's independence and France Saxony's; Greek orthodox Russia and Protestant Prussia the existence of the ecclesiastical State.

Those now in power tried to stifle the aspirations of the people under the weight of their various agreements; but the idea of freedom was stronger than any force exercised by kings and princes, and was not to be finally crushed, though it might be checked, by judges, soldiers, censors, or police. Nothing could stem the tide of democracy, and those it threatened could only save themselves from the overflowing waters by continually climbing to higher ground; and so the governing class, as its actual prerogative grew less, endeavoured to maintain its hold by the assumption of higher titles, and dukes became grand-dukes, electors kings; but then what was to happen when every Freiherr became a count, and all the counts princes, and all the common louts barons? What fresh title was there left for those in jeopardy to lift them above the devouring flood?

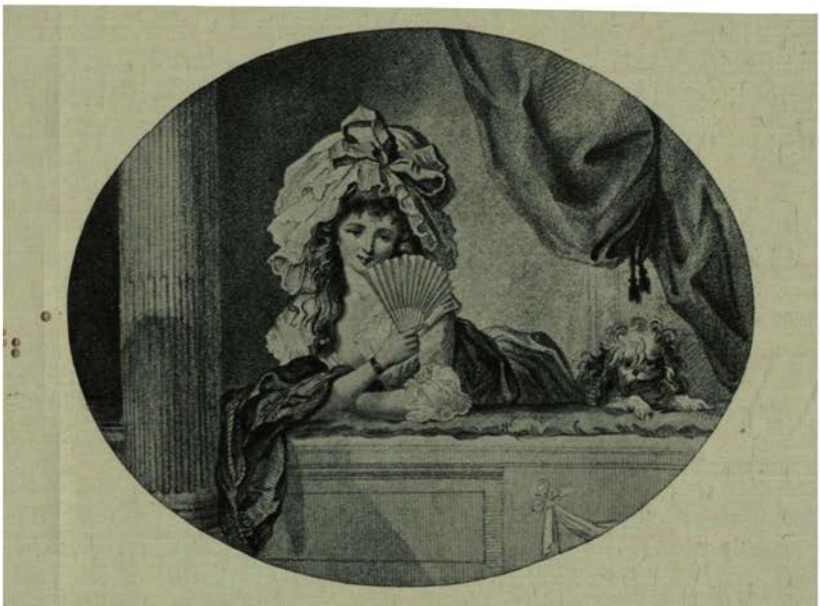
"When everybody's somebody
Then no one's anybody."

The middle-classes, after fighting so long for freedom, saw

Gallery of fashion, London, 1795

their hopes destroyed; one thing alone that they had won remained theirs—for this even the hand of reaction dared not touch—the ribbon of an order! Before the Revolution, orders of knighthood, as the name signified, were exclusive clubs for the aristocracy alone, but Napoleon, who understood the French better for not being one himself, in founding his Legion of Honour in 1802, made it possible for even the low-born citizen to have something which distinguished him among his fellows. This master-stroke of the man of genius who knew human nature so well, although he despised it, inspired other potentates to follow his example, and orders for the recognition of the virtues and services of the middle-classes were founded in Baden 1803, in Bavaria 1806, in Saxony, Würtemberg, and Hesse in 1807, in Austria 1808, and in Prussia 1810. They were concessions to the growing spirit of the age and fruitful of good results, for that state stands firmly on its foundations which recognises and justly rewards the merits of all classes from the highest to the lowest.

PRINCE METTERNICH



Ramberg TEMPTATION

II

THE outbreak of the French Revolution was not only a political turning-point in the life of the nations; it wrought a social change as well, and was followed by the rise of a new order of society, of which the *raison d'être* was the growing importance of the middle-classes. The society of the Rococo period was aristocratic and exclusive; it ignored everything which lay outside its immediate circle, and assimilated entirely whatever it chose to take up; its aim was to enjoy to the full the life which its riches and culture made so worth having.

The new society, on the contrary, was not at all exclusive, for it did not set out with the idea of mere pleasure. It was not the enjoyment of sensual gratification cultivated to the highest pitch of refinement that it sought, but the intellectual

Gallery of fashion, London, 1795

Romney SERENA 1799

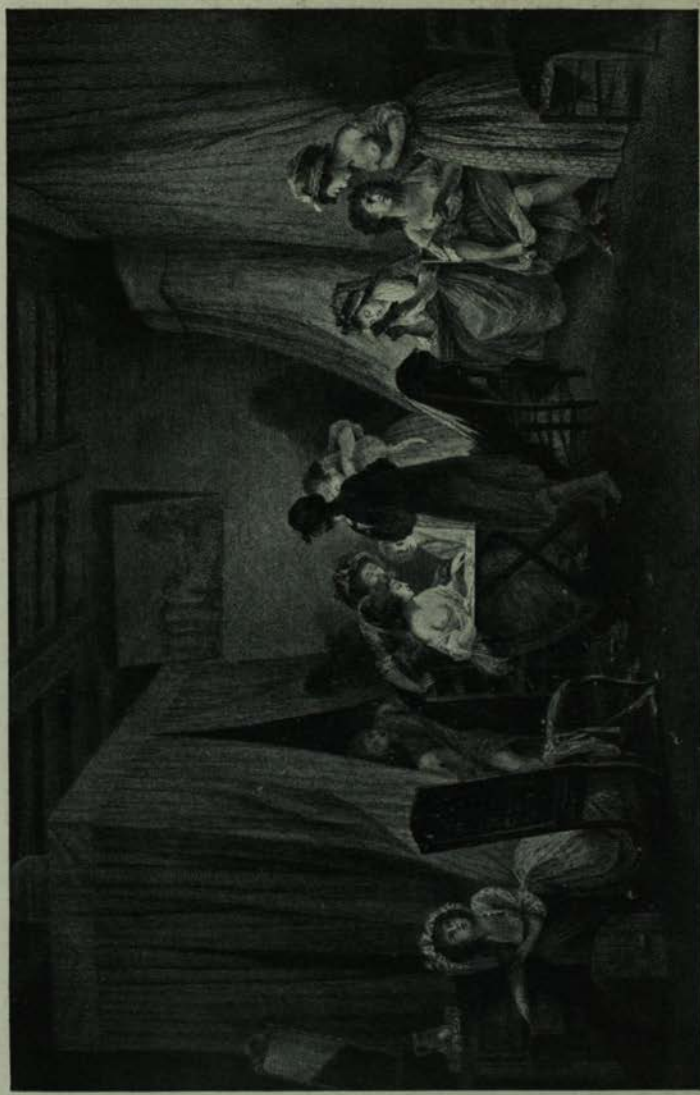
and spiritual enlightenment of heart and mind; it led the way with loud protestations against existing manners of life, but as regards its own style it was free neither from extravagance nor pedantry. The unrestrained arbitrariness of the Rococo style had at last produced a lack of ease, which led, after Caylus and Winckelmann had drawn attention to the antique, to the gradual introduction of classic forms into art.

While Louis XV. was still on the throne, the sinuous curves and bold crossets began to grow more like straight lines and ordinary angles, and scrolls and palm leaves were introduced into ornamentation; flat surfaces became smooth, and the outlines straighter. This slowly developing style reached its most attractive period under Louis XVI., only to abandon all pretence to grace under the Empire, when it attained to

Marguerite Gérard L'ENFANT CHÉRI

a severity of form which can only be accounted for by the pedantic intentions of its creators.

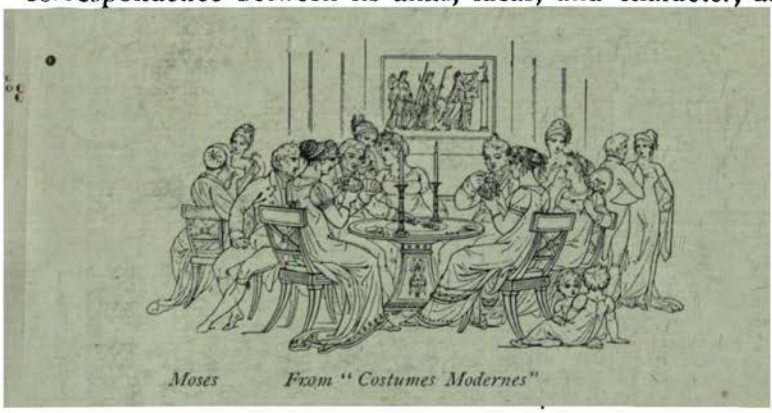
Hitherto this style had been confined to the fine arts, but now its rules were to be applied to every surrounding of life; the new society was determined to be classic to the very nucleus of its being. Rousseau's ideal of a return to nature and to simplicity of life had encouraged this desire; the more natural mode of life of the middle-classes seemed allied to that of the ancients—therefore everybody wished to be classic in the belief that they would then be natural. Antiquity was taken as a model, and rules and regulations laid down accordingly, to which men and women slavishly conformed. Orators who gave long rodomontades in the French National Assembly about the liberty and greatness of ancient times, the bureaucrats who altered the calendar to make it antiquated, the artists who copied ancient statues and arranged classic



LE COUCHER DES OUVRIÈRES

Lavreince

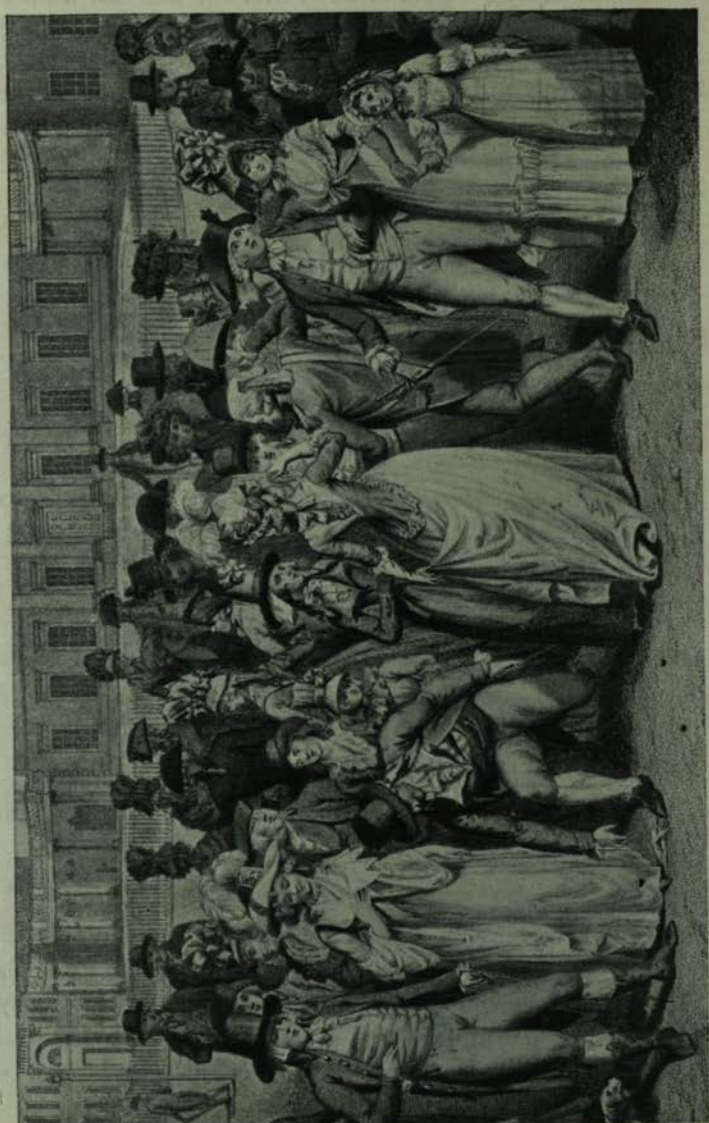
entertainments, the statesmen who gave ancient titles to the ephemeral republics they started, and the women who clad themselves in classic gowns—all acted in full assurance of faith, and cheerfully obeyed the stringent laws which they had imposed upon themselves, and which gave the society of this time its peculiar style. It may rightly be described as the last society to boast of a style of its own, owing to the perfect correspondence between its aims, ideas, and character, and



Moses *From "Costumes Modernes"*

their outward manifestations. It set itself an almost impossible task in the endeavour to bring modern life into conformity with the style of the past; and we who are now chiefly concerned with the utilitarian side of life and have lost the longing for style, can hardly understand how men and women a hundred years ago were such slaves to æstheticism even in connection with the most trivial and everyday affairs. Even an ordinary piece of bedroom furniture was not allowed to be merely such; it was an altar dedicated to the god of sleep, and for long retained the appellation thus conferred upon it. The wash-stand—of all unpretentious articles of furniture—was an altar to the god of cleanliness, the stove an altar to the god of winter.

There was danger of society becoming utterly absurd in its absorption with this one idea, but fortunately women came to the rescue and put a check to the exaggerated classicism



From "Promenade in St. James's Park"

Dayes-Sairon

which was becoming a part of daily life. It was not until the close of the eighteenth century that women began to take a leading part in society; they were the propagators of the sentimental ideal, and virtually gave its character to the new

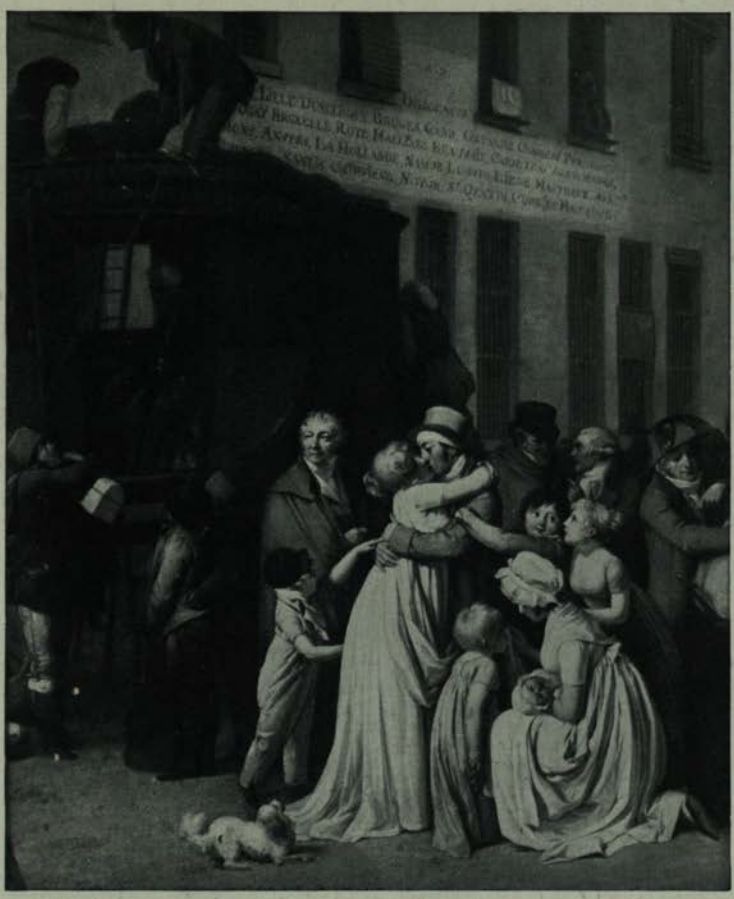
Bovi SISTERS DANCING

society. They endeavoured to combine the learning of the middle-classes with the refinement of life and manners of the old régime; they brought the lighter influence of their many-sided culture to bear on the heaviness of more solid attainments; they set the heart above the head, and as a result an elegant superficiality was the prevailing tone of the society they ruled.

Instead of the usual heavy folios and quartos, ornamental

THE SWING
From "La Mesangère"

almanacks and pocket-books, dealing with every branch of knowledge, were now published. Women were incapable of taking learning seriously, and preferred to play with it; they attended lectures and bought ready-made collections of



Boilly | *From "The Arrival of the Mail-coach"*

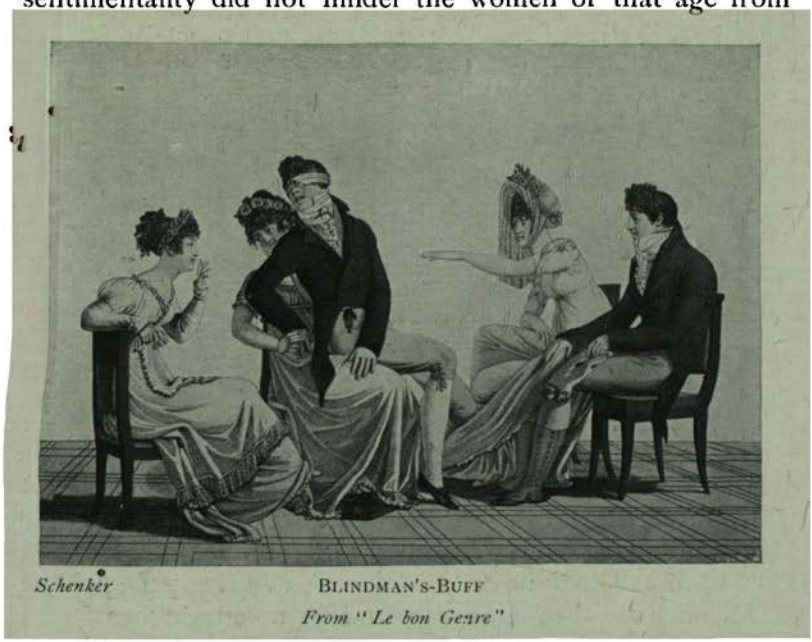
natural curiosities, philosophical instruments, and botanical specimens; their ideal of education was to know a little of everything and nothing thoroughly. They were anxious above all things to cultivate their own imaginative and sensitive personality, as a natural reaction against the intellectual tendency of the age which was bringing everything down to a dry level of prose by its unrelenting rationalism; and so

Bosio BLINDMAN'S-BUFF

From "Le bon Genre"

the staidest years of enlightenment corresponded to those of the most exuberant sentimentalism. The more æsthetic spirits revelled in the luxury of their emotions, and the whole of their intercourse was permeated with sentiment, till they lost sight of the actual in an ecstatic ideal. Every individual feeling or shade of emotion was carefully noted and transferred to a diary of the heart, that it might be preserved for friends. Even weeping was a matter of training, for it was thought becoming to fall into floods of tears on every occasion. It was considered good tone to be sentimental and high-strung, and to give unrestrained expression to the emotions; and much in the literature of that time which strikes us as affected was merely the backward swing of the pendulum from the social conventionality then in vogue. The snob of to-day poses as a sceptic; the snob of that day posed as a man of feeling. Karoline von Dacheröden writes of herself to her betrothed, "Carry her with compassionate love in the sanctuary of thy soul," and Wilhelm von Humboldt answers, "Silently adoring,

I feel your presence in the depth of my soul" ; but this high-flown mode of expression did not prevent either of them, a few lines farther on, from discussing in the coolest and most practical manner the behaviour of papa and mamma, the cook, flat-irons, linen, and other domestic matters. Moreover, their sentimentality did not hinder the women of that age from



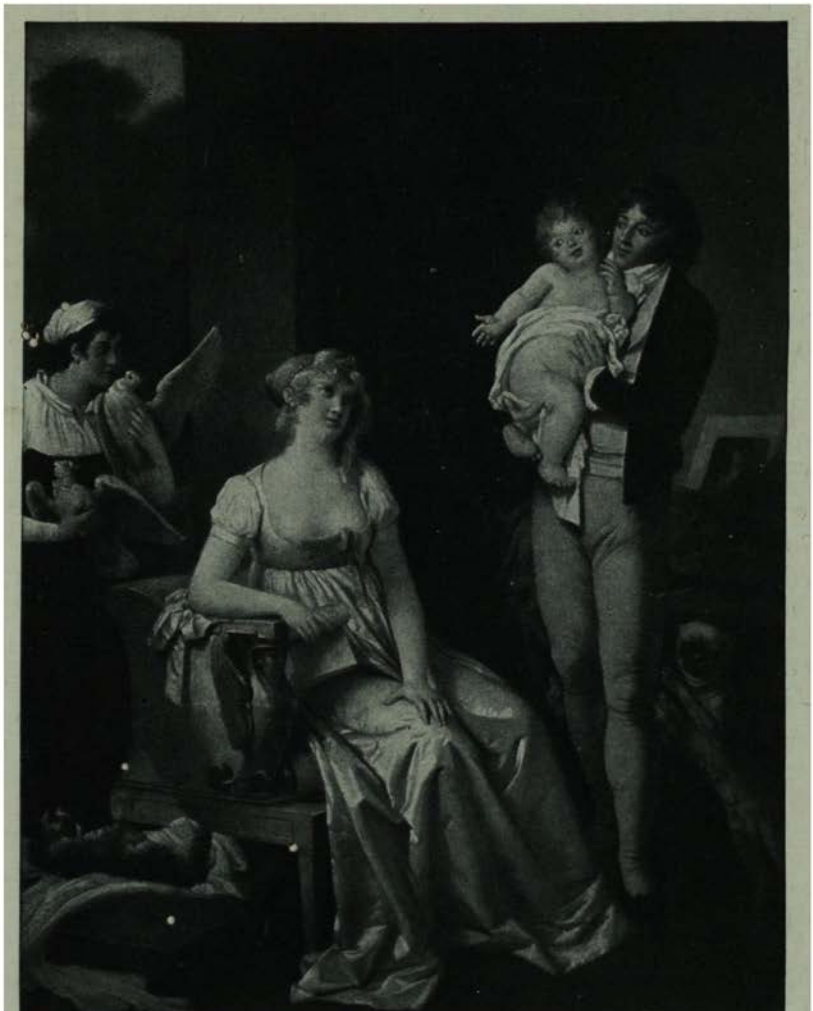
Schenker BLINDMAN'S-BUFF

From "Le bon Genre"

becoming excellent wives and mothers, and, when sentimentality became no longer *de rigueur*, from writing letters full of genuine feeling and of a fine power of observation.

This over-refinement of feeling served occasionally as a mask for heartlessness. Kotzebue, for example, stopping at Weimar on his way to Paris and finding his wife dangerously ill, continues his journey on being told by the doctor that she will die, for it would break his heart to be present at the death of the beloved one. Sentimentality again was a cloak for frivolity, when Karoline von Schelling, born Michaelis, one of the most elegant and enchanting women of the day, who had

Debucourt — LES PETITS MESSIEURS À LA MODE — 1804



Marguerite Gérard MATRIMONIAL HAPPINESS (*Cir.* 1805)

been separated from Schlegel, missed marrying Forster and been left a widow by Boehme, wrote to a friend, when living happily with her fourth husband, "Ah! I was born to be constant!" Karoline von Lengefeld held the same opinion

of herself perhaps, after having married Beulwitz, then fallen rapturously in love first with Schiller and afterwards with Dalberg, and finally separating from her husband—in order to marry Wolzogen.

This affected sensibility expressed itself in still more peculiar ways in the intercourse between the sexes. One hardly knows what to think of the singular connections and tender relations that arose. Every variety of sentiment and idea, of physical and spiritual attachment, played its part in these impossible friendships between man and woman. There is only need to refer in this connection to the extraordinary mingling of platonic and sensual love in the relations between Hölderlin and Susette Gontard, Creutzer and Günderode, Schleiermacher and Henriette Herz, Tiedge and Elise von der Recke, Alfieri and the Countess of Albany. Some came to grief, others grew old without any troubling of conscience. The moral ideas of the period were exceedingly liberal; love, not marriage, was looked upon as the bond. In France the sacrament of adultery was spoken of in perfect seriousness. Six thousand marriages were dissolved during the first year after divorce had been legalised in 1791. "Tel est notre bon plaisir" was considered quite sufficient ground for a separation in France, and so we find the beautiful Thérèse de Cabarrus making a change of husbands because it pleased her to do so. When, however, Germans like Therese Heyne-Forster-Huber, Dorothea Mendelssohn-Veit-Schlegel, Sophie Schubert-Mereau-Brentano, and others, did the like—probably because the more genuine of them preferred in their hearts to act uprightly—they argued and philosophised over the matter until they worked themselves into such an exalted state of mind that all sense of becomingness was lost.

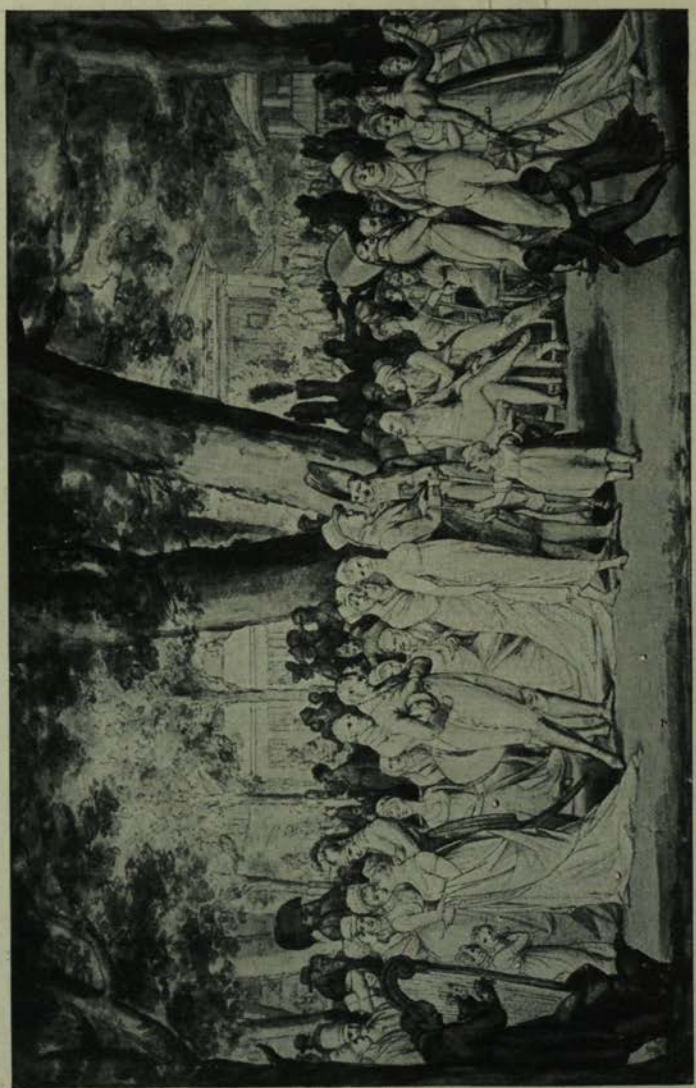
It was not the greater writers alone, as Schlegel in "Lucinde," Achim von Arnim in "Hollin," Goethe in his "Elective Affinities," who preached the gospel of free love; the minor romancers dealt with it in a still spicier manner, and the more reckless practised it as a matter of course. Goethe's

relations with Christine Vulpius were considered blameworthy only by the jealous Frau von Stein. The poet's mother liked and approved of them. The triple alliance between the renowned poisoner Sophie Ursinus, her husband, and Captain Ragay went on for years, both men concerned being perfectly aware of the state of affairs.

The period of the Napoleonic wars was one of accelerated vitality and drove men irresistibly to seek their pleasure. We have sufficient evidence of this in the entertaining reminiscences of the Hessian officer whose campaigns gave him the opportunity of taking a pleasant run of nuptial experience through all the nations of Europe. He tells us that there was no time anywhere for lengthy consideration, and so evidently thought Fräulein Bethmann when she allowed herself to be shut up for the night in the guard-house at Frankfort with Count Flavigny, in order to oblige her family to consent to the marriage. So also thought Auguste Buszmann when Clemens Brentano carried her off in 1807; and further proof of the laxity of morals is given by Davoust's astonished exclamation when a German princess introduced her children to him: "On voit bien que vous demeurez à la campagne, tous vos enfants se ressemblent."

Feeling and sensibility took the place in this generation of religion; all connection with the Church having been entirely given up. The views of the English deists had been proclaimed throughout Europe by Voltaire's famous "écrasez, l'infâme," and with such success that the unbelief of the better classes began to penetrate to those below and to be considered by these also as the fashionable way of thinking. The higher clergy themselves were often unbelievers. The last Elector of Mainz was a pronounced freethinker; Count Trautson, Archbishop of Vienna, was reported to be a dissenter at heart. Canons and prebendaries replaced the images of the Virgin in their homes by busts of Voltaire and Rousseau—and among the people in general all understanding of the faith had so completely been wiped out that it was seriously suggested to open a church combining every variety

Gallery of fashion, London, 1795



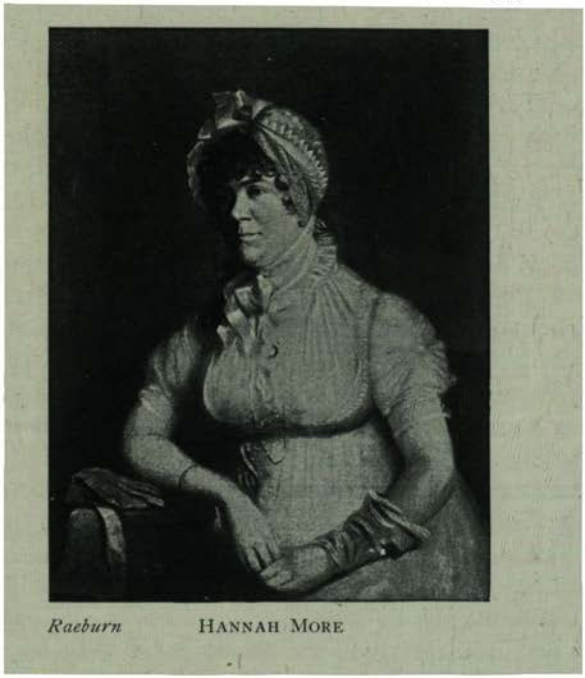
PROMENADE IN THE PRATER, VIENNA (*Cir.* 1800)

of creed with Napoleon as bishop! The more cultured set no value on any particular belief. Wilhelm von Humboldt allowed his children to be baptized as Lutherans, Anglicans, or Catholics, as suited the convenience of the moment. The Savignys left their sons unbaptized that when grown to an age of understanding they might choose their own religion. One of them became a Catholic, for the sufficient reason that in Berlin every noodle was a Protestant!

The tolerance of the clergy kept pace with the indifference of the laity; theologians disputed so hotly against all miracles and mysteries of faith, that the doctrine of expediency was the only one left to Christendom. The Bible became as little prized as dogma; the preacher Hufnagel in Frankfort took his texts from Hermann and Dorothea; other preachers used the occasion of Christmas to speak of the advantage of stall-feeding. The marriage of Kügelgen and Lilla was as improvised as that of Voss's Luise; the funeral rites of George, Duke of Meiningen, in 1804, were celebrated by nymphs and genii surrounding flower-decked altars: the programme of religious instruction seems to have been carefully drawn up for the cultivation of indifference in the young.

Romanticism, which was opposed in its tendency to the style of the time, reacted on the pseudo-enlightenment, on the dry commonplaces and purely utilitarian aim of Rationalism. Men and women were living under the yoke of fixed rules borrowed from the ancients, and they longed for the courage to shake off the bondage of their self-established laws. As a result of this they sought what was lacking in freedom and independence to the arbitrary style they had adopted, in the Gothic architecture and the chivalry of the Middle Ages, finding in these the mystery and charm which they had so successfully eliminated from their daily life. The classic ideal still held sway and no one dared oppose it, but beside it the Gothic, like a caprice of fancy, still managed to flourish, giving some little opportunity for the play of imagination which had been banished from officially accepted art. The Landgrave built the Löwenburg for himself in Cassel; the

Duke of Wörlitz his Gothic house; Queen Luise's Gothic ruins arose on the Pfaueninsel; the Austrian court erected the Franzensburg in the Laxenburg Park; at Monrepos, near Ludwigsburg, the horrors of the subterranean chapel in the lake were heightened by twelve wax figures of Knights Templars who held a chapter there. Parks were now filled with Gothic ruins and castles, as queer and antiquated in their way as the Gothic romances and plays of knights, robbers, ghosts, and other terrifying subjects which came from the pens of Spiesz, Vulpius, Jünger, Naubert, and later of Lewis and the boy Shelley, and encouraged the growing taste. It was after the descriptions given in these that knightly tournaments began to be held—one in 1793 by the court when at Rudolstadt; another in 1800 in honour of Queen Luise by Count Hochberg at Fürstenstein; while in 1807, in Vienna, Count Zichy gathered a large assembly of knights at his house, who dressed and jousted in regular old German style. When genuine poets arose to disclose to Germany the real wonders and beauties of the olden times, then this childish play turned to earnest. Clemens Brentano, Achim von Arnim, gave back to their country its ancient songs and legends; Josef Görres, Hagen, Jakob and Wilhelm Grimm its heroic saga; Sulpiz and Melchior Boisserée its art; —they had come upon the springs of German thought and habit, and set flowing a fresh flood of influence which for a whole generation determined the direction of life and culture. The Romanticists and Germanists who were gathered at Heidelberg in the beginning of the nineteenth century awoke their fellow-countrymen—whom Fichte looked upon as stupid and ignorant, cowardly, idle, and subservient, and of whom Görres expected nothing that was clever or brave—to a sense of their own nationality, and with it to renewed strength and dignity. Into the aroused soul of the people they instilled a trust in the greatness of the past, which gave men and women courage to dare all for the sake of future greatness and inspired them to exchange the unsubstantial idealism of dreams for the imperative reality of duty.



Raeburn HANNAH MORE

III

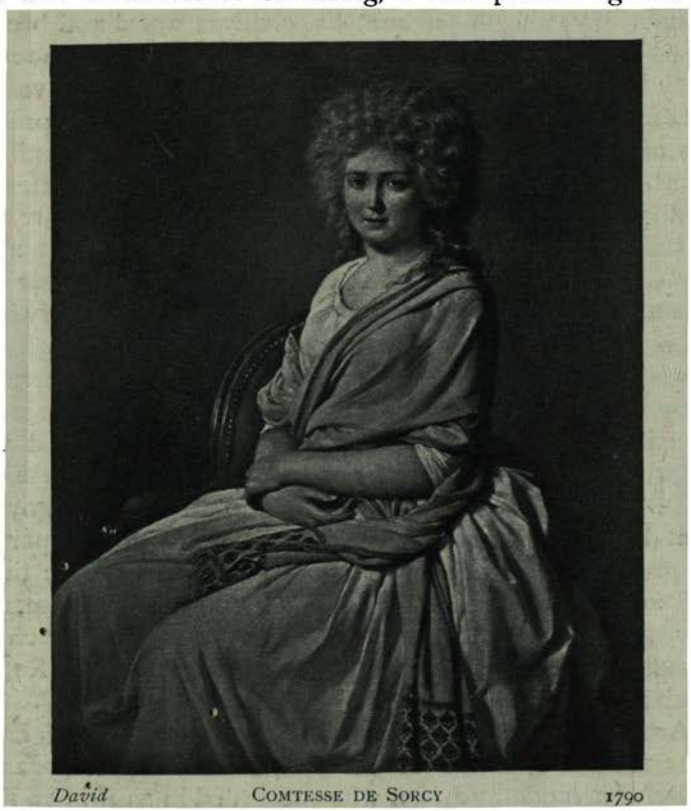
THE style which is familiar to us by its name of "Empire," and which prevailed for about thirty years from the middle of the eighties of the eighteenth century, did not, as already stated, spring all at once into fashion, but gradually came into vogue owing to the influence of more than one favourable circumstance. The "Rococo" was still flourishing, when an unknown German scholar, a native of that same Dresden where Pöppelheim dreamed of his rich and fantastic Zwinger palace, began proclaiming an entirely new gospel of art: the unconditional imitation of ancient models. Further weight was given to the teaching of Winckelmann—who was soon to win a world-wide reputation for himself—by the discovery of Herculaneum and Pompeii, and by the archæological expeditions into Sicily, lower Italy and Greece, which were just

at this time drawing the attention of the cultivated public to the remains of antiquity.

The paradoxical idea that art could only hope to produce inimitable works by a close imitation of the works of the past, spread from Paris throughout the civilised world and became the dogma of æsthetes and critics, the laity being all the more ready to adopt the creed as it provided them with a convenient standard of judgment and was quite beyond the comprehension of the less enlightened. Artists like Mengs constituted themselves interpreters of the new idea, which insisted on ideal beauty in place of coarse and commonplace nature, and on the prolonged study of ancient sculpture which it alone considered a worthy model. So, beautiful and classic had become synonymous terms long before pre-revolutionary ideas had made the latter word synonymous with virtuous, or before it was held an equivalent for democratic by the generation living in 1789. The men of the Revolution in their passionate terrorism wished to break not only with tradition but with the whole civilised past, in order that a free people might found their culture on ground which no monarchical government had soiled. Moreover they found no counterpart to the greatness of their own heroism except in classic times, and so they associated the ideas of country, freedom, and duty, as they were represented by the modern French republicans, with those of the heroic period of the Roman republic.

Art as such they would willingly have left to itself, had it not served as a means to the end, and had not a man of powerful personality arisen who succeeded in assuring a right place to art as such, and further procured for his own particular style the recognition of being the only one entirely republican in tone and worthy of consideration. This man was Jacques Louis David, whose works were the true expression of his convictions, and whom an enthusiastic admiration of classic times converted into a fanatical republican. His fame was assured to him after 1784, when in his "Oath of the Horatii" he gave formal expression to the

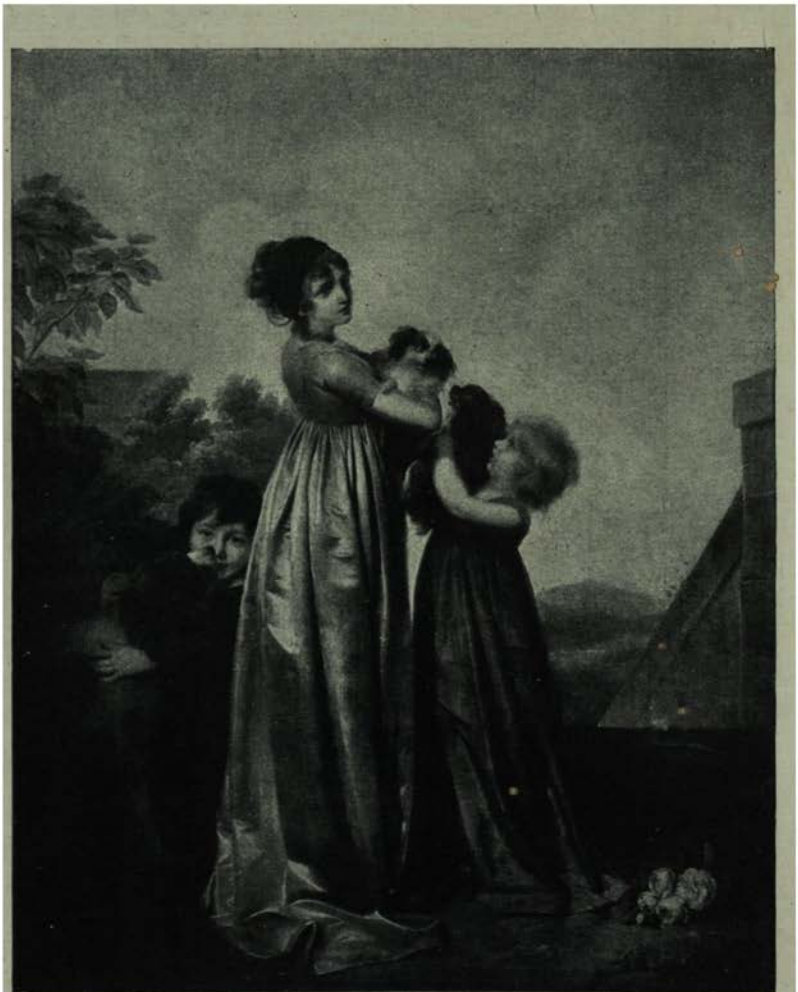
longing of his contemporaries after virtue and heroic greatness, and put as it were their thoughts into words. The picture of the thirty-six-year-old painter was in subject, in severity of line and crudeness of colouring, a loud protest against the



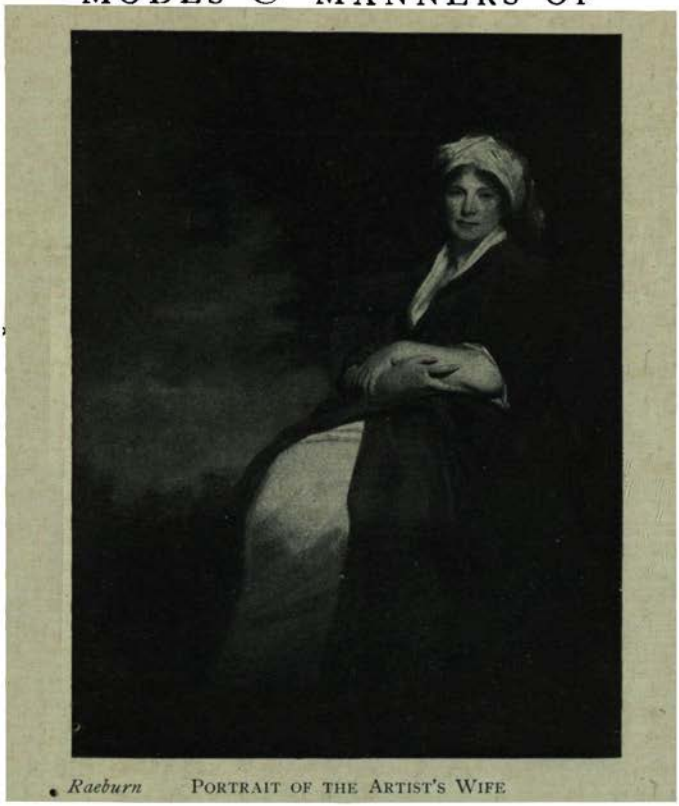
David COMTESSE DE SORCY 1790

ways of life of the governing classes, to which it stood in such strongly emphasized contrast, that it pilloried them as effectually as did Beaumarchais' "Barber of Seville." While art in general, and artists who had hitherto remained exclusively in the service of the nobles and clergy, fell accordingly into supreme contempt among the Jacobins, David could without hesitation point to his own works and promise the

"A FASHIONABLE COUPLE" *by* DEBUCOURT



Boilly THE PETS



Raeburn PORTRAIT OF THE ARTIST'S WIFE

Convention that art from henceforth should be no slave of the despot, but should deal with subjects worthy to be looked upon by the eyes of a free people.

He went even further than that. His paintings of the murdered Marat, and of the heroic death of the youthful Barra, were flaming manifestoes of republican sentiment; while in his "Oath in the Ballroom" we feel the exaggerated pathos of this period of excitement, which was ready to sacrifice everything, even reason itself, to its theories. David, the Jacobin, the regicide, confesses in his works to the same wild ideas as his friend Robespierre from the rostrum; the natural fanaticism of the republican masters even his artistic spirit, and the

Gallery of fashion, London, 1796

Smith MISS MARCH

lover of the classic forgets all his rules and falls back entirely on nature and truth.

His pictures carry conviction by the unstudied sincerity of their execution; they move us like a passionate cry, as if something of the exalted enthusiasm of that terrible time was mingled with their colouring, as the low murmur in an empty shell reminds us of the distant surge. These works which show us David as the great realist, together with his portraits, remain yet young and fresh, while those in which he believed he had most distinguished himself and shown himself a genuine old Roman by his acquaintance with everything to do with antiquity, are now quite out of

date. The Horatii, the Death of Seneca, the Rape of the Sabines and others, in their cold, over-refined style, are in contrast to his other works like a prospectus carefully drawn up at the study table to the spontaneous oratory of a popular speaker. But to the artist himself, who submitted to the dictatorship of the prevailing taste of his time, whose pupils numbered hundreds, and whose influence extended over the civilised world, and who as court painter to the Emperor had to portray all the chief events of that startling age—to him the antiquated and mechanical style of painting seemed the only one entitled to consideration. He writes in 1820, when in his seventies, scolding Gros for having given up painting in his grander style, "Vite, vite, feuilletez votre Plutarque." And the latter, who had for long been producing his finest pictures and using his brush on nobler subjects than ever Plutarch described, gives more credence to the renowned master than to his own individual inspiration, and stung with remorse for having set such a bad example by his impressive pictures of daily life and facts, so full of movement and colour, returns to dream of mythology and ancient history and perishes sadly while engaged on work of this kind.

PORTRAIT OF A LADY
German Miniature

Another of David's pupils bewailed his whole life long that fate had not allowed him to devote himself to the grander

Jens Juël LADY AND SON

style of art, but had forced him—fortunately for us—to stick to portrait-painting. Posterity sets Gérard's portraits far above his mythological confectionery. His famous picture of Psyche, after the exhibition of which none of the ladies would wear anything but white in order that they might look equally ethereal, is sufficient evidence of his readiness to sacrifice corporeality, life, and truth, when it was a question of being ideal, while in his portraits he clings more faithfully to reality. He knew how to interpret the spirit and intelligence of his models and to give charm to his portraits; and this, added to the taste and delicacy of his execution, and his rich and excellent colouring, render them works of great attraction.

David MME. VIGÉE-LEBRUN

We can give no better example of the characteristic difference between Gérard's soft and charming style and David's severe and more virile manner of painting than their respective portraits of the beautiful Juliette Récamier. With David she is a vestal, cold and unapproachable; with Gérard, yielding, irresistible, wholly and entirely fascinating. We are not surprised to hear that the latter was a fashionable painter, much sought after not only during the Empire but for many years later; fortune favoured him to the end, as it did Sir Thomas Lawrence and Madame Vigée-Lebrun, with whom he shared the patronage of the world.

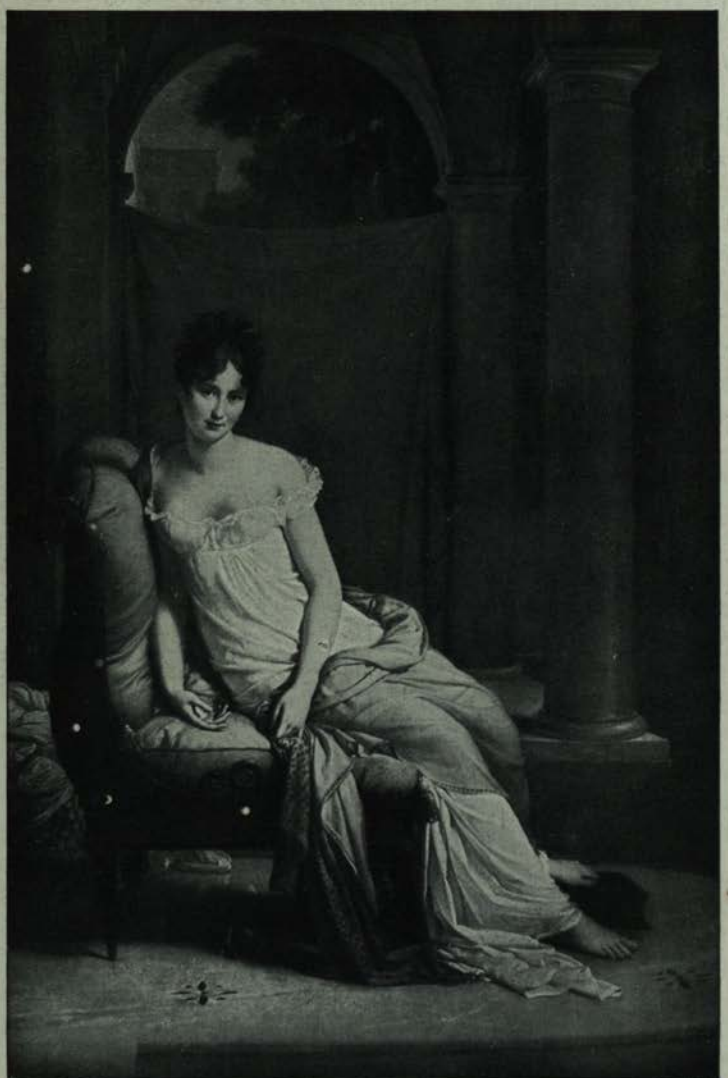
Lawrence, who succeeded in England to the fame and the

clientèle of Reynolds, was not known on the Continent until after Napoleon's fall, when he was making a collection for Windsor Castle, as George Dawe for the Hermitage, of the portraits of all the rival monarchs and commanders, who in face of a common enemy had sunk their personal quarrels as long as the latter still remained to be fought with.

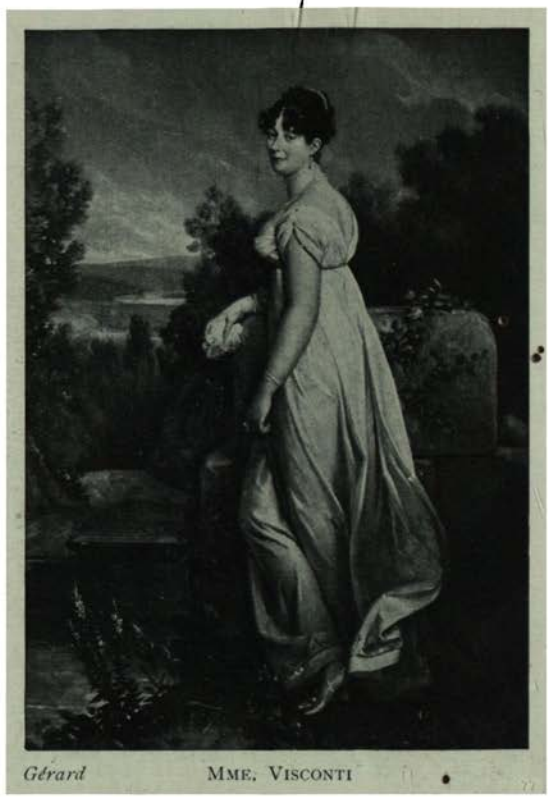
Ingres PORTRAIT OF A LADY

The contemptuous verdict of the Humboldts on the "rosy-cheeked" portrait of their father, echoed a reproach earned by the generality of painters, who, particularly in their masculine portraits, made their flesh tints too pink. The excellent taste of Reynolds and Gainsborough degenerated under the skilful hand of the last of the great English painters into a certain undistinguished elegance, to which his brilliant palette gives a vexatious touch of sincerity.

Madame Vigée-Lebrun, although only thirty-four years of age at the outbreak of the Revolution, was already a celebrated artist. She was one of the first to emigrate, and during the twelve years of her wanderings, spent in turns at all the courts between Naples and Petersburg, her brush was busy painting the most beautiful women and the most charming children then alive. Among her more renowned portraits are those of Marie Antoinette, which she left behind her in



Gérard MME. RÉCAMIER



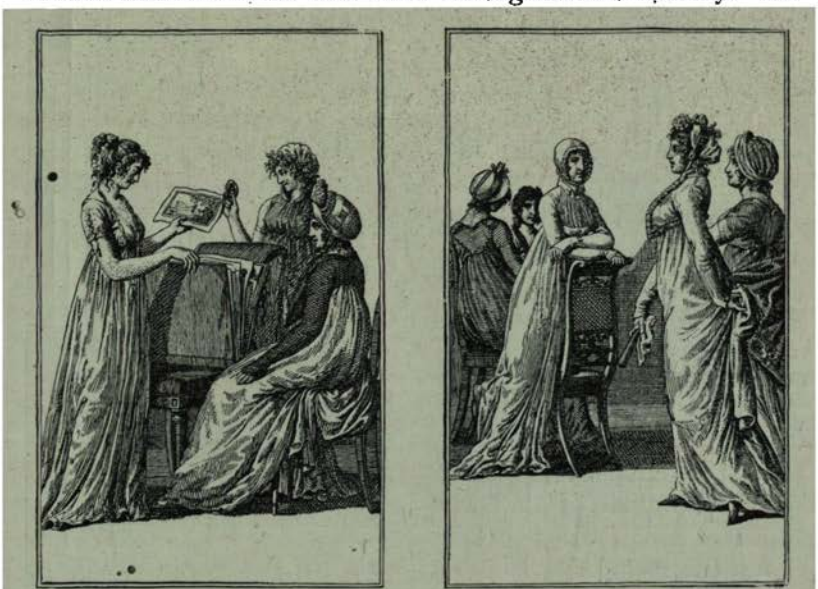
Gérard MME. VISCONTI

France, of Queen Luise and the Empress of Russia, and of Austrian archduchesses and Russian grand-duchesses. They are all rendered alike by the same quality of charm and elegance, of simplicity and grace; and if we may trust her own portrait of herself, the artist must have been as fascinating as her art.

The French artist was a woman of the world of fashion; the "good" Angelica Kauffmann, on the contrary, a regular blue-stocking. In her historical pictures, as for example Hermann the Cheruscan, she is positively unbearable in her formality, whereas in her portraits—the renowned Lady Hamilton and the universally beloved Princess Maria of Courland as a vestal, to take only two—there is a mingling of seductive beauty and feeling, and a pleasing lightness, noticed long ago by Goethe, both in form and colouring, and in design and treatment, which makes her work irresistibly attractive.

She appears like a living anachronism in that age, even as did Fragonard and Greuze, whose once highly-prized art is now pitilessly condemned as "a disgrace to the French

people." But those who looked on the Rococo style of art as fantastic and vicious, quite overlooked the fact that Prudhon, the painter-poet so highly extolled, had also brought his artistic skill over with him from the eighteenth century. All



From the "Berlinerischen Damen-Kalender" 1803

that is tender and lovable in his art, and just that which is attractive in the false tones of his palette, belongs to the Rococo, as does his peculiarly playful lightness of invention and soft tastefulness of form. David did homage to the Muses, Prudhon to the Graces. David earnestly strove for the laurel of ancient virtue, the roguish Prudhon for the roses of youthful love.

The "classic marble bride," as Muther felicitously expresses it, appeared at the same time to the Germans, and stifled painting in her deathlike embrace; drawing became of more importance than colour, and Asmus Carstens started the cartoon period. High art did not venture to seek for beauty except in the far-away regions of antiquity. At the

Ingres — FAMILY GROUP — 1806

head of those who longed to pursue her in this promised land was the aged Goethe, who was only too delighted to win for the circle of "Weimar friends of art," or more correctly speaking for himself and Kunscht-Meyer, a leading position in the artistic world of Germany. The prize subjects offered by him during a long series of years for general competition were, it need hardly be said, taken exclusively from the Greek heroic period—as Paris and Helen, Hector's farewell to Andromeda, Achilles on Skyros, Perseus and Andromeda; and it is amusing to hear the old Weimar Olympian delivering his formal oracle at the exhibitions.

Beside the barren and classic school of art encouraged by its friends at Weimar and elsewhere, there existed another, overlooked and little prized, of a more naturalistic tendency, that occupied itself with subjects within the boundaries of daily life. It gave promise of a wholesome future for the false ideal that was being so forcibly fitted to the procrustean bed, and turning its back on the strutting and theatrical figures of Greeks and Romans, led the way into the lighter regions of life and reality. So the aged Chodowiecki worked on at Berlin in his good old way at pictures inspired by the time and place he lived in, and in his laboriously mechanical and skilful art foreshadowed that of his future disciples Krüger and Menzel, who were to follow Carstens; while the aged Graff of Leipzig continued to paint his unpretentious and matter-of-fact portraits, and Friedrich of Dresden painted a landscape, which being quite incomprehensible to those of his own period, received its due appreciation a century too late. Beside these we have Runge of Hamburg, Edlinger of Munich, in their retired studios, carrying on the same good tradition.

But the artist to be chiefly noted in this connection is Goya. During a period when art was heavily bound by rules and formulæ he remained undisturbed by all this dead paraphernalia, and devoted his art and energy to the problems of air, light, and movement, which he was the first to discover; and in spite of the pseudo-Romans and Greeks who confronted him on every side, he remained what he was, a genuine-

Gallery of fashion, London, 1797

Spaniard. And to us looking back, he appears in his solitary grandeur like the shining beacon that makes the surrounding night yet darker by its brilliant light.

As David among painters, so Canova led the way among

Ingres PORTRAIT OF A LADY

sculptors. The coquettish elegance of his facilely inspired figures was enthusiastically admired by his contemporaries; his Perseus was ranked as a companion to the Belvedere Apollo. Emperor and Pope fought for possession of the artist, who appeared to them to excel the ancient sculptors in the animation he imparted to the marble. His influence was felt throughout the world: Thorwaldsen the Dane, Alvarez the Spaniard, Flaxman the Englishman, and Rauch the

Goya THE DUCHESS OF ALBA AND GOYA

German, imbibed his spirit, and were the apostles of his gospel.

Architecture had at that time comparatively little opportunity of leaving works behind as monuments of its efforts; time and money are required for building, and both were then lacking to individuals and governments. It retained the classical style for nearly another hundred years, but during neither the Republic nor the Empire were circumstances favourable to the carrying out of large designs. The Pantheon was indeed finished when the National Assembly decided its destiny, but in spite of its splendid proportions, the lack of harmony in its frescoes and of repose in its

Gallery of fashion, London, 1797

structure produce the impression of a dismantled church. There is an irony of fate in the indefaceable character of a Christian house of God given to this building which served

Romney LADY HAMILTON

at one time as a pagan temple of fame; and when it once more returned to its former use, after having been consecrated to the memory of Napoleon's *grande armée*, fate's finger seemed pointed in mockery to its first and final purpose: there was no getting rid of the church.

When, however, some gifted architect was enabled to carry out his ideas, we find in his work an unmistakable element of grandeur, as for example in the Brandenburg Gate erected in 1788-91 by Langerhans, with which Berlin had nothing equal to show in her monumental buildings for over another century, during which period she had become the capital of the country.

Ingres LADY WITH A FAN

It was during this period that the value of iron as a material became appreciated, though as yet there was no style expended on its handling. Experts, as well as the general public, looked on with astonishment at the first erection of iron buildings in England; in 1803 Paris had her first iron bridge, the Pont des Arts; Germany had possessed one since 1796, in which year Count Burghausz had sent for English engineers to put up an iron bridge over the Striegauer, near Laasan in Silesia, for which he paid 7700 thalers.

The architectonic style of the day was not so perceptible in architecture itself as in the internal decoration of the houses, the more easily manipulated materials for which enabled the craftsman to keep pace with current ideas. In contrast to the Louis XVI. style, which developed an extreme grace and elegance in its independent treatment of the antique elements of which it was exclusively composed, the style of this period laid a pedantically exaggerated value on symmetry, its severity degenerating almost into insipidity. Large unbroken wall spaces, meagre outlines, straight lines, and a complete renunciation of colour in favour of white and gold—the whole conveying an impression of solemn grandeur, but at the same time inexpressibly monotonous; and not until the close of the nineteenth century did this objection to colour show signs of waning. The arrangement of the house in those days, as

Gallery of fashion, London, 1797

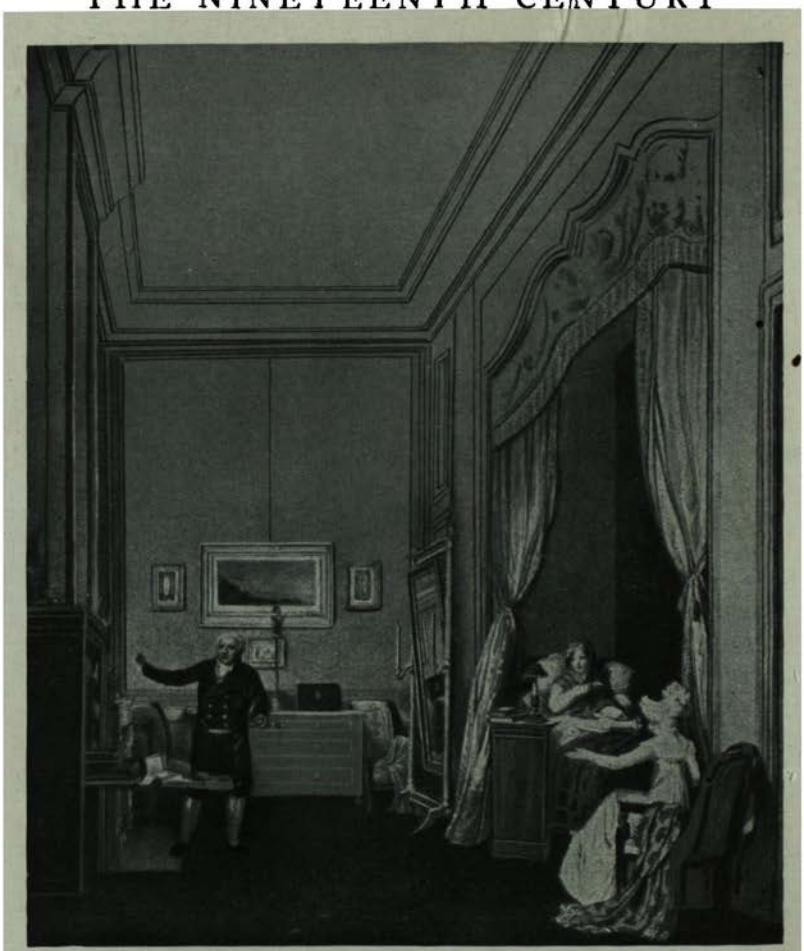
Garnerey A ROOM IN THE AUSTRIAN EMBASSY IN PARIS

also the dress, was as good as a confession of creed; so much was desired to be expressed by it that at last an obtrusive use was made of allegory, which presupposing a knowledge of the thousand and one mythological references required for its appreciation, produced a depressing effect and degenerated more and more into dull routine. The higher consecration of life after which the enfranchised citizen was striving communicated a pathetic value even to his dwelling-rooms, and he disposed these according to a certain programme apart from all consideration of ease and comfort. All absolutely necessary articles were thrust into the background; the needs of man were things to be ashamed of and to be hidden from sight as far as possible, for the citizen would have liked best to convert every room in his house into a temple. Among the rooms the "temple of sleep" was the most important, for it was here that receptions were held. The bed stood out from the wall and was surrounded by altars decked with sacrificial vessels. Odiot the painter's bedroom represented a woodland temple to Diana; that of

AN INTERIOR (*Cir.* 1800)

Vivant Denon an Egyptian temple exactly copied from one at Thebes; Baron Blumner's castle at Frohburg was arranged according to a double design picturing the four seasons and the four ages of man. The artists set the example, chief among them being David, who had his studio redecorated by Georges Jacob after designs of his own, an event which caused a great sensation and gave quite a revolutionary impulse to the new and severer style. The furniture of the day, in logical accordance with the latter, was constructed on purely architectonic principles; the columns which are so freely associated with the cupboards, chairs, and tables of that date gave to these a monumental character of immovable stability.

The use of mahogany superseded that of all other woods, and the lavish addition of gilt bronze ornaments while heightening the effect of heavy splendour ended by fatiguing the eye with the repetition of its conventional wreaths, palm leaves, lyres, &c. Furniture of a magnificent, but not less



Isabey THE EMPRESS MARIE LOUISE IN CHILDBED

heavy style, modelled on late Roman types, became the fashion, of which we have some idea in that of the National Convention constructed by George Jacob in 1793, or in the ornamental cupboard belonging to the Empress Marie Louise, which cost Napoleon 55,000 francs. Jacob Desmalter, the maker of it, was one of the most famous cabinetmakers of

Isabey BAPTISM OF THE KING OF ROME

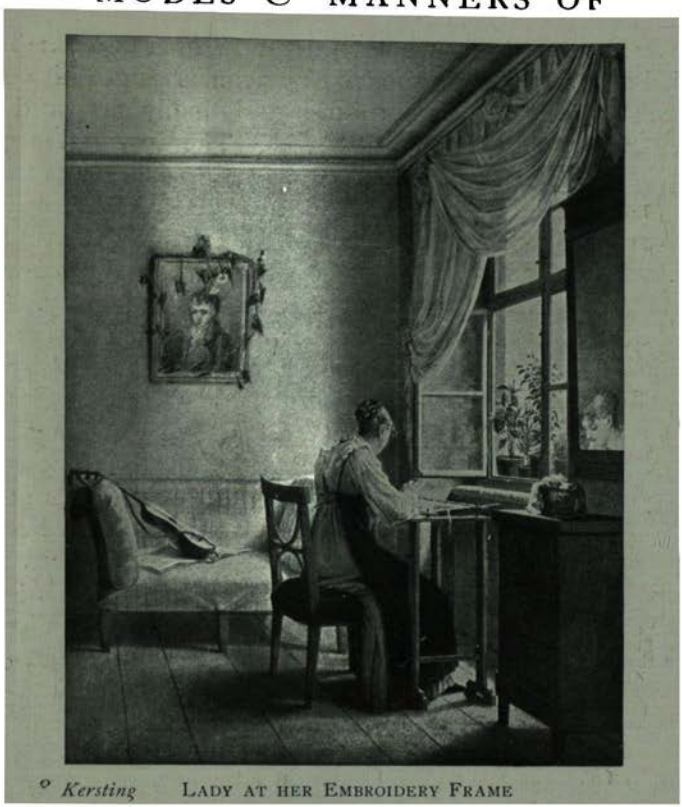
that day; other works of his are the fittings of the Imperial palaces at Malmaison, Mainz, Antwerp, Rome, Florence, Venice, &c., and the bed of the Empress Marie Louise, which was garnished with lace worth 120,000 francs. He had in stock chests of drawers worth 4000, writing-tables worth 350 to 3000, tea-tables from 300 to 2000 francs.

Artists like Girodet designed the furniture for Compiègne, and Prudhon the magnificent fittings for the dressing-room of the Empress Marie Louise, which were a present to her from the city of Paris; they were made entirely of massive silver gilt and in 1832 were melted down! The cradle of the King of Rome was the work of Thomire; the Court architects Percier and Fontaine were the two, however, who exercised most influence on the arts and crafts, and gave

artistic impulse to a whole generation of workers. They carried out the buildings under Napoleon, arranged his entertainments, designed his furniture, and finally prepared the model for the china factory at Sèvres. The Convention gave out that no porcelain found in the royal palaces was worth preserving unless it conformed to the severity and simplicity of Etruscan vases; the existence of the factory at Sèvres was thereby imperilled, when Napoleon stepped in with his word of command and procured it a fresh lease of glory. The costliness of the china, which became once more an article of luxury during the Empire, may best be appreciated by the prices that were given for it—as for instance, 500 francs for a cup painted by Mme. Jaquotot; for vases painted by Swebach, Bergeret, or Isabey 6000, 10,000, 15,000, in some cases 50,000 francs. French taste predominated throughout all countries: Desmalter arranged the Hermitage at St. Petersburg and the Imperial Castle at Rio de Janeiro; Percier and Fontaine drew the designs for Cassel; Moreau furnished Count Johann Palffy's castle in the Wallnergasse at Vienna, and constructed the Apollo room, the famous centre of amusement for the élite, the entrance fee to which was five florins, and dinner for one without wine the same price.

The internal decorations and furniture of the Empire period when carried out in grand style, even if somewhat stiff, gave an air of magnificence to the rooms; but when called upon to meet the wants of the citizen's house, they refused to accommodate themselves. The æsthetic taste of the time, which insisted on imitating every particular of the classic life of ancient Rome, found itself in difficulty when face to face with the requirements of everyday household furniture. We have referred above to the means sought by the shamefaced citizen to meet the difficulty and to mask his ordinary needs in our previous mention of articles of bedroom furniture, and these were not the only unlucky pieces over which æsthetes and craftsmen exercised the ingenuity of their brains.

The stove, for instance, was quite indispensable in a



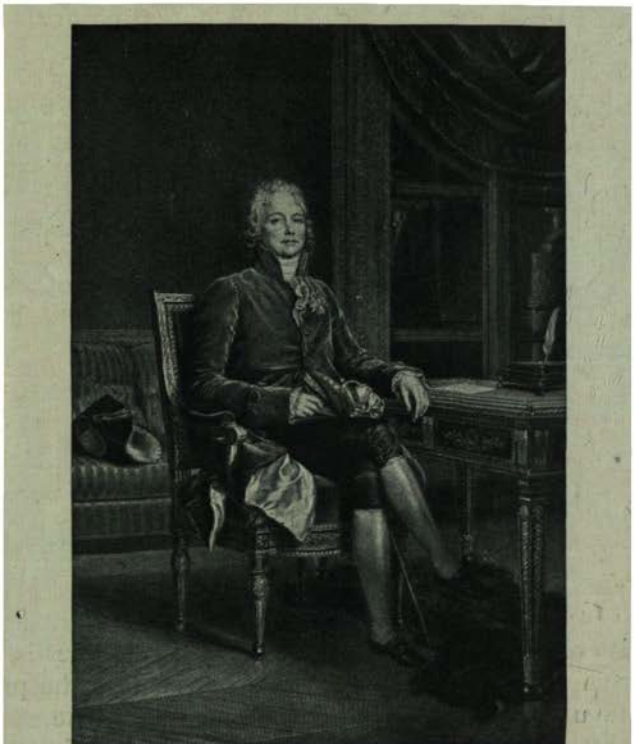
° *Kersting* LADY AT HER EMBROIDERY FRAME

northern climate, but where in the whole of antiquity was any reference to be found to a tiled stove? The universal altar had again to be called into service. At Wörlitz, for example, the stove was named the altar of winter, or else was converted into some kind of monument; Isabey hid the stove in his house in Paris under the figure of Minerva; the firm of Höhler in Berlin sold stoves which imitated every kind of marble in colour and ancient monuments in shape. At Wels, in Upper Austria, a stove was found by Karl Julius Weber which looked like a bookcase filled with the works of Luther, Zwinglius, and Calvin, whose heretical writings were seemingly therefore burnt afresh every day.

Drolling THE DINING-ROOM

This constant and exhausting conflict between æstheticism and necessity naturally led to a protest against the prevailing and uncomfortable style of the day, and the reaction was most happily and successfully represented in English furniture. In opposition to the continental striving after conformity to the antique and the forcing of conventional forms to inappropriate purposes, the English thought first of comfort and convenience. Their furniture was fitted to the use required of it, solidly made and sparsely decorated; and this combination of excellent qualities found its way on to the Continent in the second half of the eighteenth century. The style introduced into English furniture from the time of Sheraton and Hepplewhite, an animated revival of the mingled

elements of Chippendale, rococo, old Gothic, and pseudo-classic forms, exercised fully as strong an influence on the furniture of those who wished to be thought in the fashion during the next period as the Empire style itself. The



Gérard TALLEYRAND

scanty supply of furniture of the middle-class house was enriched by several important additions. The "Psyche," a pier-glass swinging loosely in a standing frame, the idea of which had only been possible since technique had discovered how to cut sheets of glass of sufficient size for it, was one extra article; another being the washstand, that owed its existence to the newly arisen desire for cleanliness.

"THE COQUETTE AND HER DAUGHTERS" — *by* DEBUCOURT

The slight value attached to cleanliness during the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries is well known ; in Spain the bath was forbidden as a heathen abomination. The renowned Queen Margaret of Navarre, of courtly life, washed herself at the oftenest once a week, and then only her hands. The *roi soleil* never washed himself ; and the single bathing-tub to be found in his time at Versailles—the bath-room being considered a superfluity, and therefore devoted to other purposes than washing—was not discovered, and then quite accidentally, before the days of the Pompadour, and was then placed in the garden for a fountain. Such being the habits of the time, it will be understood with what disapprobation it was said of Napoleon, that he washed too much ! They explain Mercier's astonishment in 1800 at finding that soap had become an article of general use in Paris and Reichardt's surprise that the French in 1804 were so much cleaner than he had known them twenty years previously. Reports from England, however, do not entirely corroborate these statements ; according to these the French were very charming to look at, but it was as well not to go too near them !

In Spain the permission given to a lover to search for the vermin upon her was considered one of the greatest marks of favour from the fair one ; and Klinger relates how on one occasion he was showing a microscope to his officers in St. Petersburg and had put a certain small insect under it for demonstration, whereupon the audience immediately offered him so many more objects of a similar kind that he became quite embarrassed.

An article by Hufeland, who in 1790 started a regular campaign against uncleanliness, reads most amusingly. It is not right, he says for example, to let children go so long without washing, and to let them go longer still without changing their under linen ; this is most unhealthy—and so year after year he goes on preaching to his contemporaries on the most elementary rules concerning the care of the body.

In Munich, which numbered 40,000 inhabitants, there were seventeen convents, and only five bathing establish-

Bartolozzi, after Wheatley 1789
WINTER

ments, with altogether not more than one hundred and thirty baths. Frankfort on the Main, through the instrumentality of Dr. Kohl, had its first floating bath in 1800; and Berlin, through that of General von Pfuel, its first river bathing some time after 1813.

The washstand made its appearance with this growing desire for cleanliness; it was of very modest proportions at first, generally a tripod holding a diminutive jug and basin.

The great love of flowers among the English gave us the flower-stand, and the sentimental preference for certain of Flora's offspring over others was accompanied by the costly delight in show that spent itself on plants and blossoms that were out of season. In Paris this love of flowers was first displayed after the Reign of Terror, and was brought more especially into fashion by the Empress Josephine, who was passionately fond of them; we have to thank her for the introduction of the Hortensia into our gardens. Even in those days flowers were ordered in winter from Nice and Genoa. Napoleon himself paid 600 francs a year to Mme. Bernard for a fresh bouquet to be sent him every day.

As regards the decoration of the inner walls, the Empire style, which preferred either a plain wash of colour or lightly figured papers, made a virtue of necessity. Wainscoted walls,

which had hitherto been the general fashion, had, on account of the continued cutting down of woods and consequent increase in the price of timber, which had already necessitated the introduction of economical grates and stoves, given way to hangings of various material, either of Gobelin tapestry, woven silk, or printed calico.

The walls had to be as cold and neutral as possible, as a background to the altars, monuments, and pillared temples with which the new style now filled the rooms, and to the spindle-legged chairs, and all the classical paraphernalia of sphinxes, griffins, lion heads, caryatides, &c. They were merely white, set off with coloured borders, the woodwork being also varnished with white, and the paperhangings being of light colours with faint tracings of patterns upon them.

In Paris in 1796, it was reckoned that to redecorate a single middle-sized room with certain required hangings, even if done in the most economical way, would necessitate the changing of twenty-four francs of ready money into assignats of the nominal value of 45,000 francs.

The exclusive preference for white, owing to the presumed colourlessness of all ancient temples and statues, led to a plain glaring surface being alone permissible according to the taste of the æsthetes, and caused the painted frescoes, in which their predecessors had delighted, in many churches and dwelling-houses, to be whitewashed over. Oil paintings again did not suit with the flat cold walls of the citizen's dwelling, their pronounced effects of perspective and heavy frames would have been quite out of keeping with the lightness of the remaining decoration, and so these lost their value and were for a long time replaced by engravings or even coloured prints.

Similar experiments to those of the nineteenth century with coloured photography were made in the eighteenth with coloured engravings. Jacob Christophe Le Blon, the child of French refugees settled in Frankfort, discovered the art of printing the latter; a number of French artists worked at improving the process, in every way a laborious one, and the more so that the actual engraver who was responsible

for the general effect of his plate had nothing to do with the one who coloured and printed it. Gautier d'Agoty produced large-sized anatomical pictures, Alix charming portraits, while Debucourt and Janinet gave their attention to pictures of fashion and manners, thereby preserving to us the most singular pictures of contemporary society which readily laid itself open to caricature.

Coloured engraving did not reach the perfection of which it was capable until the English set to work to improve the process; as in the same way it remained for English artists to master the art of mezzotint, which was discovered by the Germans. It was they who brought out all the possibilities, which were limited, of grace and effect in the coloured engraving, and we have appropriately soft tones and broken delicate colours in the copies of elegant professional beauties after Reynolds and Gainsborough, while the charm of Clarissa Harlowe and Caroline Lichfield, and the seductiveness of Lovelace and Grandison, denizens of the world of romance, are more fittingly portrayed in rose and blue. There is an exceptional attractiveness in everything told us of English life at that time by Hoppner, Singleton, Morland, Smith, Ward, White, and the anglicised Bartolozzi, Cipriani, Schiavonetti, and others.

They introduce us to everything that is best and most perfect in creation: everybody is pretty, well-dressed, and healthy. We meet with delightful puppy dogs, sweet children, and exemplary parents; pleasure awaits us at every turn, and every dream of happiness has become a reality. The addition to all this of a perfection of technique and of considerable taste brought the art into great and lasting favour, and even Goethe championed it in the *Propyläen;* such favourite examples as George Morland's Lætitia series, which first appeared in 1789, were republished in 1811 with the figures reclad in more modern clothing.

A further artistic production was brought over to the Continent from England—the panorama—which produced a delightful optical illusion, and was soon greatly sought after

PROMENADE IN THE PALAIS ROYAL • 1787

Debucourt

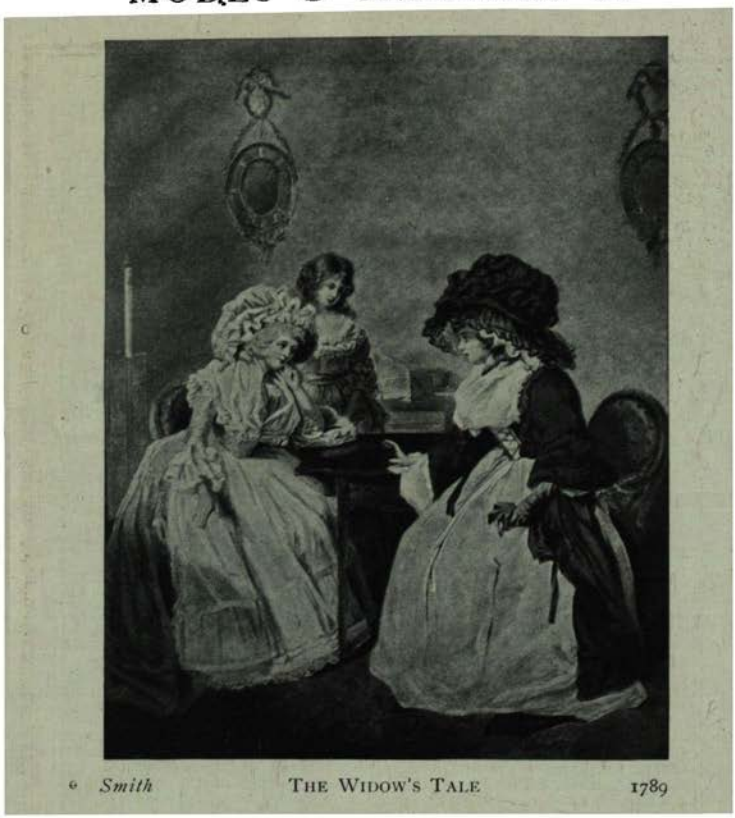
as an entertainment. The first painter of a panorama was Robert Barker of London, who in 1793 exhibited at his house in Leicester Square a view of Portsmouth with the English fleet, which was followed in 1795 by a panorama of Lord Howe's naval victory over the French, and in 1799 by one of the battle of Aboukir. These were afterwards exhibited in Hamburg and at the Leipzig fair. As characteristic of the difference between English and German national taste, we may add that the first panorama exhibited in Berlin, painted by Tielker and Breysig, was a view of Rome!

The diorama by Gropius, for which Schinkel prepared the sketches, was a brilliant success when established in Berlin, sometime after 1811; its scenes included the burning of Moscow, shown at Christmas 1812, only three months after the actual event had taken place, when many sad spectators may have comforted themselves with the hopes of better times. Munich had its first panorama in 1809, the people being given the opportunity of admiring the goal of their desires—Vienna.

Art has to thank the Revolution for the acquisition of public museums, which were generously showered upon the nation, and, by the increased knowledge of art which they afforded, were in great measure responsible for the perversion of artistic taste. The general public had previously had as little understanding of their contents as they had right of entrance to the valuable collections belonging to the rich and great, who for pride's sake, or because of a genuine personal appreciation of art, had filled their houses with treasures. We are even told that before the Revolution, Barthélémy, the custodian of the royal collection of antiquities in Paris, carried the key away with him in his pocket when he took a journey to Italy. The Revolution altered all this, not so much because it cared about art, as because it wished to educate the people and prepare them for the enjoyment of liberty. Those of the art collections of the several royal palaces which fulfilled this purpose were brought to the Louvre in 1792. Pictures which were considered immodest, as those by Boucher, or others

ANGLERS

G. Morland

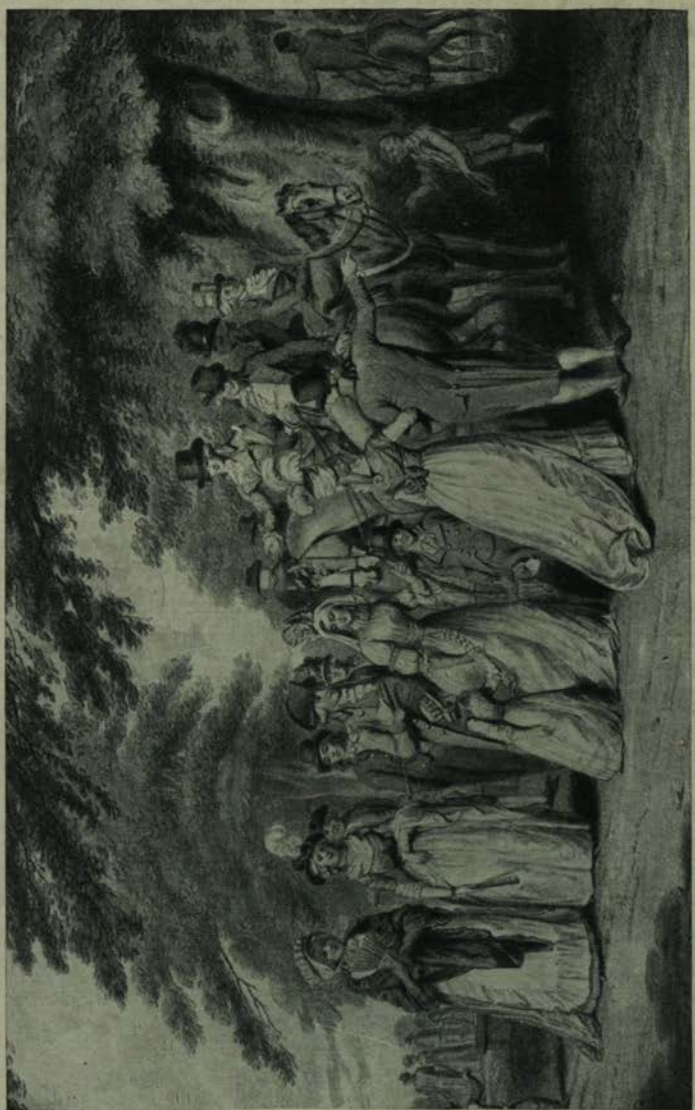


Smith THE WIDOW'S TALE 1789

which had the misfortune to remind the public in any way of the hated conditions of royalty which had been pitilessly swept away, or again those like the productions of the Flemish painters which were not in accordance with idealistic art, were ruthlessly condemned to destruction, and only a certain number escaped by being bought up at an absurdly low price, chiefly by foreigners.

The French, we may add, did not stand alone in their ignorance as regards the older works of art. At Prague the head of a Trojan, which had been thrown into the ditch of the Hradschin, was used to make knobs for sticks; while the volumes bound in morocco, which had belonged to Prince

"THE TIMID PUPIL" *La Mésangère, Paris (about 1800)*



Gaugain, after Dayes — *From "Promenade in Hyde Park"*

Eugen, were turned out of the court library at Vienna and replaced by others bound in boards; and so on.

In 1793 the auctions held for the sale of the confiscated property of the emigrants, which included the costly furniture from the royal palaces—bronzes, porcelain, tapestries, &c.—that was now bought and scattered over all parts of the world, only brought the French government a lot of worthless assignats, while priceless treasures were either destroyed or lost to the nation for ever. From remains which Alexandre Lenoir gathered together from old lumber-rooms he founded the first historical museum, and for many years he laboured with untiring care and self-sacrifice to enlarge his collection, until it was dispersed during the Restoration period by the shortsighted and ignorant policy of those in power. Under the Empire the Musée Napoléon, formed of the art treasures of which Italy, Spain, and Germany had been despoiled, was the finest collection of the kind known, and between 1803–5, some twenty provincial museums in France were founded to receive the overflow of its riches. This example was not lost upon other countries, and was systematically followed by Germany some years later. England as usual stood alone, and on a higher plane, as regarded matters of culture; the first foundation of the British Museum dates back to 1752.

Hamburger Journal der Moden und Eleganz, 1801

CHODOWIECKI'S DESIGNS FOR REFORM IN DRESS 1786
From "Frauenzimmer-Almanach"

IV

ROUSSEAU'S appeal to society to return to the simpler conditions of natural life inaugurated a reformation in dress, and the old stiff, affected mode of attire was replaced by a healthier and more reasonable style, more fitted to the purpose for which it was intended. The general longing after new forms of life found expression in this altered dress long before the petrified state of age-old society had given way before the overwhelming force of the awakened consciousness of humanity. That this was so need not surprise us, for the striving of the individual after beauty and harmony, after some reconciliation between character and appearance, naturally finds vent in the style of dress. The new ideas concerning nature and liberty began to make themselves felt by their opposition to court costume, and the Revolution started with a revolt against corsets, hooped petticoats, and high-heeled shoes. Children were the first to profit by the change; the development and care of their physical condition preceded the pædagogic reform which did away with the old routine

Malgo, after Hickel PRINCESSE LAMBALLE

of teaching that aimed principally at training the memory. Now the development of the will and understanding was made a part of their education, and a whole line of reformers—Basedow, Salzmann, von Rochow, Campe, and later Pestalozzi and Niemeyer—introduced systems of education which took into consideration the natural character of the child.

Up to about 1780, children had been dressed like grown-up people; the boys curled and powdered like the father, the girls tight-laced like the mother, and their clothes were

made of the same stuff and cut in the same way as those of their elders. We have only to look at any of the pictures by Chardin, Chodowiecki, and others, to see how quaint and decorous they appear, and how stiffly they hold themselves in their uncomfortable and unyielding attire. Suddenly all this underwent a change; a sensible dress fitted to the childish figure was imported from England. There was no longer any swathing of the infant's body, and all confining strings were done away with. Many of the older children were even allowed to run about with bare head and feet; and mothers visiting England could not sufficiently admire the freedom of dress enjoyed by the children of that country and their healthful appearance. The efforts of the health promoters led to the adoption of the English mode of dress for children, who already in 1793 began to be reasonably attired, Gutsmuth being allowed even to open his gymnasium for them.

Bartolozzi, after Cosway

MARIA COSWAY

From England, whence salvation had reached the children, came deliverance also for adults; the less courtly manner of life of the English, who preferred to dwell in the country, necessitated a different, simpler, and more convenient style of costume to the court dress of the continental frequenters

David MME. SÉRIZIAT

of salons. The doctors of the day upheld English fashions, organising a regular campaign against the injurious style of men and women's dress. The famous anatomist Sömmering, in 1788, addressed the "German women who really were

Hamburger Journal der Moden und Eleganz, 1801

Gallery of Fashion 1794

German at heart," appealing to their consciences against corsets; and the equally renowned Camper attacked high heels, a whole list of lesser celebrities joining in the chorus —among them Josef Frank and Walter Vaughan, who highly disapproved of the tight trousers worn by men. The stress laid on the "German" in Sömmering's address shows that the efforts to introduce a more reasonable style of dress were *ipso facto* in opposition to French modes, and therefore had acquired a national significance.

Bertuch, as early as 1786, propounded the question, "Is it necessary and possible to introduce a national German costume?" but without result, while the more practically minded editor of the *Frauenzimmer-Almanach*, Franz Ehrenberg of Leipzig, and Daniel Chodowiecki in 1785, started

Russian Artist A GIRL

designs for a "reformed dress for German women." The dresses, it should be added, designed by the artist, after Greek models, for home wear, visits, and ceremonies, had nothing to do with this "reform dress," which was a melancholy compromise between a nightgown and an artist's overall—and those shuddered who saw it—a flopping sort of banner under which the wretched devotees gathered, sworn to envious combat with all that was graceful and chic.

This overruling idea of a reformed and national dress was never wholly put aside, and in the course of these pages we shall come across accounts of continued efforts, in France as well as in Germany, during periods of political unrest, towards the introduction of a "patriotic" or "national" costume. In distinction to the secondary importance attached nowadays to dress, we become aware in these movements, however unsuccessful they may have been, of the

psychological value which unconsciously resides in dress. In earlier epochs it was brought more into notice by the regulations concerning the dress of the separate classes; not only were the clergy and soldiers distinguishable, but noblemen were differently dressed to the citizens—a woman of rank to a merchant's wife, and the artisan's wife to a woman of the serving class. So it remained until the Revolution, at least on the Continent, for previous to this foreigners in England had remarked on the fact that there was no distinction of dress among the classes in that country, and that those of higher rank did not suffer any loss of dignity in consequence. What happened in France in May 1789, when all the classes came together, would have been impossible in England.

Gallery of Fashion 1795

Desrais ON THE BOULEVARD DES ITALIENS 1797

Dreux de Brézé, the master of the ceremonies, fell back upon the court ceremonial of 1614, and with peculiarly happy tact on his part prescribed a dress for the members of the Assembly whereby the *tiers-état* found themselves clothed in a costume which was distasteful to them by the very reason of its lack of colour and ornament. This master-stroke of the elegant courtier put the Assembly from the beginning in a bad humour, and produced a feeling of irritation which was evident in its proceedings. It gave Mirabeau a good opportunity for his first violent tirade against the inequality of dress; and consequently one of the first acts of the National Assembly was the abolition by solemn decree of all distinction in the dresses of the classes. The noblemen who had selfishly usurped the wearing of feathers, embroideries, and red heels, &c., had to look on while the citizens declared that they laid no value on such insignificant trifles, but left them gladly to the use of

Hamburger Journal der Moden und Eleganz, 1801

Smith "WHAT YOU WILL" 1791

lackeys. It was significant of the victory of the lower class all along the line; the first of the accustomed privileges of the upper class had gone, and the others were to follow with painful rapidity.

The result to us has been that all the variety and splendour of men's dress before 1789 have completely disappeared; they

Gallery of Fashion 1795

fell into discredit as reminiscent of a hated class, and every effort on Napoleon's part to revive them failed to check the universal introduction of black for men's wear. A clever master of the ceremonies had had the idea of ordering black clothing for the despised citizens in order to snub them—they were now, in face of cringing courtiers, going to make it a dress of honour. The democratic tendency which was then gaining power, the plebeian sentiment of equality, has so far carried the day that now when another century has

passed over our heads, not only has man's dress attained to an uncompromising uniformity, but women's dress also has been forced to give up any peculiarity indicative of rank or station. In England this change in dress took place naturally and without fuss: it was not so in France, where it was accomplished with full stage effect; and the Continent, deceived by the glare and noise, imagined it was imitating France, when in truth it was only following the lead of England. As the doctrines of the English deists were propagated by Voltaire, so English fashions only became generally known after they had received names and recognition in Paris. To this day the long trousers, a chief characteristic of modern attire, is thought to have been a novelty introduced in France, whereas it was nothing more than the English

Magasin des Modes, 1790

Gallery of Fashion, 1795

Gallery of Fashion 1796

sailor's breeches, and the name of "pantalon" was borrowed from the familiar figure in Italian comedy, the pantaloon, whom Callot as early as the beginning of the seventeenth century represented with his legs clad in this article of dress. The French undoubtedly furthered the adoption of foreign ideas, and cleverly and ostentatiously made use of them, but we shall see later that even the so-called Greek dress of the Revolution originally came from England.

The costume of the women in vogue when the Revolution broke out dated from 1780. It had given up the hooped petticoat and the high dressing of the hair; but fashion would not have satisfied its love of exaggeration if it had not given

Hamburger Journal der Moden und Eleganz, 1802

prominence to some other part of the figure to make up for lessening the colossal width of hip produced by the extensive hoop, over which the full dresses had been tightly strained. Fashion chose the bosom. The dresses continued to be full and long, but now hung in clinging folds, as we see them in their most becoming style in pictures by Reynolds and Gainsborough; the sleeves of the caraco, or bodice, were half-length, the neck open, and the waist very high, which gave prominence to the figure. Fichus were worn, or the open neck was filled up with some light material, at first only introduced in puffs but afterwards drawn up higher, and worn continually fuller, until as *trompeuse* it reached the chin and had to be supported by *gorges postiches* made of satin.

The gigantic erections of hair, which at last reached such a height that it was said of a lady of fashion that her face was in the middle of her body, were now no longer seen. According to a current anecdote, Marie Antoinette lost so much hair at the time of the birth of the first Dauphin, that the old style of hairdressing became impossible to her. In place of these towering coiffures, thick curls now hung down to the waist; ladies continued to powder, but the ribbons, laces, flowers, feathers, aigrettes, &c., which had

Hoppner PORTRAIT OF A CHILD

Gallery of Fashion 1796

taken the hairdresser hours to arrange, were entirely put aside. Not to be without compensation for this loss, all these magnificent trappings were transferred to the hat, which in size and trimmings equalled in extravagance the former mode of hairdressing; the simpler and plainer the dress became the more fanciful and overweighted became the head covering. Other names were now given to colours; they were no longer called *Caca Dauphin, Vomissement de la Reine, Cardinal sur la paille,* but received appellations more in accordance with the times, as *à la Républicaine, à l'Égalité, à la Carmagnole.* Every one wore the national cockade—since it was dangerous not to do so. The dresses grew gradually narrower, and the waists

higher, until about 1793 every woman looked as if she had a wen.

The most striking difference was in the materials used. Owing to silk and satin being now too expensive for the reduced means of the people, they were replaced by printed calico and cotton; and the French fashion being followed to some extent by other countries, the silk industry in France was completely ruined.

And now for a while fashion seemed to stand still, for the ladies who had set the fashion in Paris were either too busy since they had thrown themselves into politics to trouble about it, or, having emigrated, were without the money and the opportunity.

As early as June 1790, some one wrote from Paris that an unheard-of thing had occurred: no new fashion had appeared

Gallery of Fashion 1796

Gallery of Fashion 1796

for the last six months! Le Brun's *Journal de la Mode et du Goût* managed to drag out an existence up till January 1793, when it was obliged to cease; the Terror had swamped everything. Even the chief tailor and dressmaker had emigrated; the famous Mlle. Bertin, Marie Antoinette's modiste, left for Mainz in 1792, was sent for to Vienna by the Empress, and finally went over to England, where she remained. So the setting of the fashions devolved upon the democracy, as first result of which was the introduction of ready-made clothes, which were stocked to suit all tastes.

Since 1791 there had been shops for ready-made clothes in Paris. Quénin the younger supplied the wants of the citizen, and Mme. Teillard those of the citizen's wife. Both

Hamburger Journal der Moden und Eleganz, 1802

Gallery of Fashion 1798

sent out printed lists of prices, and as early as 1799 found imitators in Hamburg, where Korn and Hosstrup kept ready-made wardrobes in stock for gentlemen.

Fashion now set up her throne in England ; in this country, so out-and-out conservative, the new fashion in imitation of classic dress was first started. The story of its origin is extremely comic. When in 1793 the well-beloved Duchess of York was in an interesting condition, both girls and adult

Lauer FRÄULEIN VON KNOBELSDORF

women of fashion went about wearing little cushions under the waistband; they were known in England as *pads*, in Germany as *ventres postiches*. This peculiar fashion was the beginning of the short waist, which after 1794 was the general style in England, and found its way quickly on to the Continent, the bodice finishing immediately under the bosom in front and under the shoulder-blades behind. First known as an "English" fashion, it was eagerly adopted in Paris, whence it spread abroad rapidly after the fall of the leaders of the Terror in 1795, when the beautiful Madame Tallien, generally known as "Notre Dame du Thermidor," ascended the vacant throne of fashion. Released from the rule of the

Gallery of Fashion 1797

Terror, the Parisian ladies, who had been forced for so long to forbear the pleasure of dress, now carried the new fashion to an extravagant excess; under the pretence of wishing to appear classical, the "English" was soon more correctly to be designated the "naked" fashion. Not only did corsets and under-petticoats disappear, but further garments were also discarded—the lady of society wore rings on her bare feet, while silk tights and a transparent chemise open to the knee composed the remainder of her costume. The more fashionable of these half-insane women strove as to which of them

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Debucourt YOUNG GIRL 1799

should put on the least clothing. No one now spoke of any one as "well dressed," but as "well undressed," and it became an amusement in society to weigh a lady's garments; her whole clothing, including shoes and ornaments, was not allowed in 1800 to weigh over eight ounces. Mme. Hamelin, the beautiful wife of a rich Swiss banker, went the length of walking in the garden of the Tuileries clad only in a gauze veil, until the obtrusive behaviour of the public obliged her to return home. Mlle. Saulnier, however, beat the record by appearing naked as Venus in a ballet of the "Judgment of Paris."

When the "English" dress with its sleeves and high neck, which had travelled over the Channel to Paris, returned to its native country as the "Greek dress," sleeveless and *décolletée*

HIDE AND SEEK
From "Le bon Genre"

PUSS IN THE CORNER
From "Le bon Genre"

to an impossible degree, it did not meet with a welcome reception. On the occasion of Mrs. Jordan appearing in it on the boards at Drury Lane, the audience in the stalls threw their pocket-handkerchiefs at her that she might clothe herself therewith, and she was obliged to retire and change her dress. The English ladies kept to this style long after the Continent

Debucourt OLD LOVERS 1804

had given it up—Gabriele von Bülow remarked on one occasion that they were so extraordinarily dressed that one might fancy one's self at a masquerade—but they carried it out in so decent a fashion that a lady writing from London remarked that what in England would be considered an entire absence of clothing would more than suffice for three ladies in Leipzig or Berlin.

In 1801 a lady in Hanover laid a wager that she would walk through the streets dressed only in a chemise and a neckerchief without exciting any particular attention—and she won her bet easily. It is more difficult still to picture that in 1799, at a masquerade in Bückeburg, a couple appeared as Adam and Eve "clothed in nothing but their innocence"!

Decent or indecent, becoming or unbecoming, the fashion was too new and surprising not to excite lively criticism. In 1794 a Berlin critic, writing of the actress Baranius, accused her of returning to the habits of the uncivilised world, of offending morality and decency, and indeed, of awakening disgust—and this merely because she ventured to appear on

BREAKFAST
From "Le bon Genre"

the stage with bare arms; and the following year corsets, long sleeves, and *trompeuses* had already gone for good, and the "unclothed" style become the general fashion. At certain less advanced courts, as that of St. James's, the old state dress was still to be seen, and even the hooped petticoats, on festive occasions; in Berlin, on the contrary, the Queen and Countess Vosz were clad in 1798 at the ceremony of taking the oath of allegiance, *à la Romaine.*

The fashion of women's dress introduced in 1794 underwent no change for about ten years; body and skirt were made of one piece and hung close and straight like an under garment, so that the dress was not called such, but spoken of as the chemise. The long close-fitting robe ended in a train,

Gillray THE FASHIONABLE MOTHER

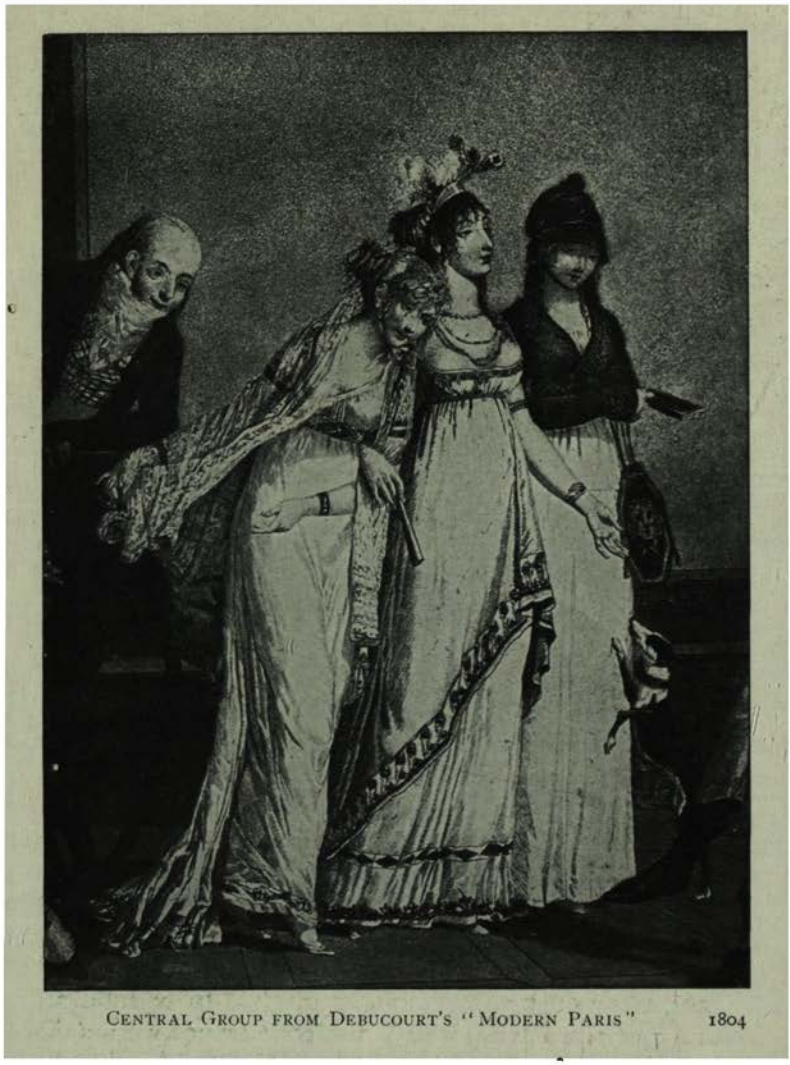
which gradually attained to the length of six yards for ordinary wear and walking, and fourteen yards for dress occasions.

The train did not escape severe disapprobation, and, as here in Germany some few years ago, many laughable and exaggerated attacks were made upon it. In 1795, at the close of one term, a student at the Realschule in Berlin recited "A youth's petition to the beauties of Berlin concerning trains." The beauties of Berlin were either broader-minded or more lenient, for we do not hear then, or indeed since, of their turning the tables on the youths and addressing a petition to them about smoking.

At any rate the ladies soon accustomed themselves to

Charis 1801

carrying their long trains; they wound them several times round the body and then held them by the extreme end, or else, as for instance when dancing, they threw them over the man's shoulder. They were not so difficult to manage as one might suppose, on account of the light materials used for dress —muslin, batiste, lawn, &c.—nor was there any additional weight added by the trimmings, as embroidery and worked borders were the only ornamentations. But the dressmakers did not allow even this simplicity of style to be indulged in without cost; in Paris, for instance, 2000 francs were paid for a dress of Indian calico: 6000 to 8000 if embroidered and with a train! A dress embroidered with steel beads made for the Princess of Würtemberg cost 3000, an embroidered coat for the same lady 900 francs. Marie Louise's trousseau included many embroidered dresses; one in gold and silver tinsel cost



CENTRAL GROUP FROM DEBUCOURT'S "MODERN PARIS" 1804

7400, one in pink tulle 4500, and one in blonde lace 6000 francs.

Among the lighter fabrics lace was naturally the most highly esteemed, and the lace dresses of Mlle. Lange were

W. Böttner QUEEN LUISE

Ingres MLLE. DE MONTGOLFIER

particularly noted. As mistress of the deputy Mandrin she became possessed of all Marie Antoinette's laces. The most costly were owned later by the Empress Josephine; these varied in value from 40,000 to 100,000 francs.

During 1800 the women got tired of the long plain dress, and the skirt began to be divided. It was either cut open in front over an under-petticoat of another colour or another stuff, or else cut up at the back so as to give the appearance

"Ah, quel vent!"
From "La Mésangère"

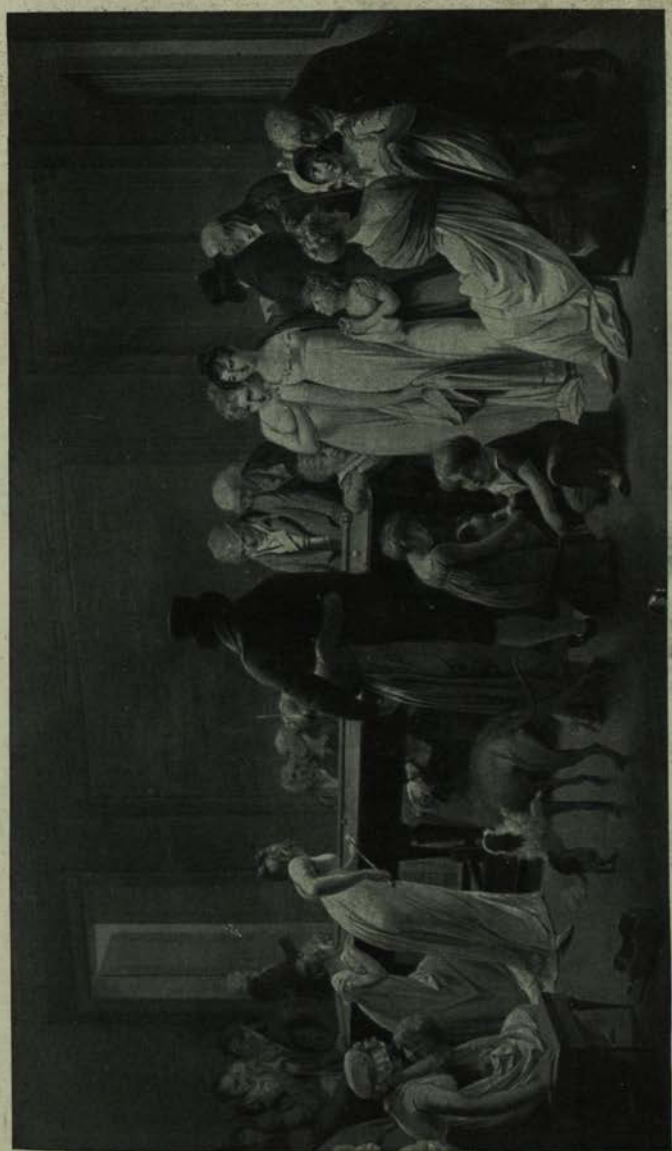
of an apron; this upper skirt being joined to the bodice was called *caraco tablier*. Again, the upper skirt was sometimes cut off about the height of the knees, so forming a tunic,

THE WALK
From "La Mésangère"

which was worn plain or gathered. Heavier materials were used for the upper skirts for smart occasions, such as velvet, silk, or satin; and for court ceremonies they were richly embroidered.

The long train was at the extreme height of fashion somewhere about 1804, contemporarily with Napoleon's coronation festival, which according to his own express command was accompanied with the greatest pomp. His and the Empress's coronation robes, which were made by Leroy and Mme. Raimbaud, alone cost 650,000 francs. Besides this every one of the Empress's ladies-in-waiting received 10,000 francs for her dress; and they must have easily spent this, for if one of them appeared at Napoleon's receptions more than once in the same dress he had a way of looking at them as a Prussian officer looks at his recruits. Mme. de Rémusat tells us with pride how wonderfully charming they all looked at the coronation; and as she says it of her friends can we doubt her word?

Occasionally two dresses were worn over one another. Reichardt relates that he once saw Mme. Récamier at a reception in a splendid velvet dress, and when the dancing



1807

THE GAME OF BILLIARDS

Boilly

THE TORMENT OF TRAINS

From "Le bon Genre"

began she slipped this off, underneath it being an embroidered white silk ball-dress.

The bodice, if we may call it such, still retained its low neck and short sleeves. The "romantic" element, however, had wrought a change, for the sleeves were puffed and a high lace frill or ruff surrounded the neck. Such reminiscences of mediæval fashions occur in Berlin as early as 1793, when the actress Unzelmann set the fashion of knights' collars; and again in 1796, when the ladies of Berlin dressed à la Jane Grey, with puffed sleeves and peaked cap, still keeping the short waist. England, however, was the first to reintroduce in 1801 the ruffs made of Brabant lace and known as "Betsies," after Queen Elizabeth, which in London reached the price of £15 to £20. These old-fashioned Betsies were

114

Le Bon Genre, Paris (about 1810)

sold in Paris as something quite new under the name of *chérusses*, the correct shape of which was fixed by the famous tailor Leroy, who had studied old models. These ruffs increased in size, while the puffed sleeve gradually grew longer till it reached the wrist, and so, although the high waist still continued, a new style came in about 1805. The train was quite done away with, the dress was still close-fitting but

Gränicher 1806

A LEIPZIG COOK

Craighley-Kenerley 1807

ENGLISH COSTUME

cut round at the bottom, leaving the feet free in 1808, and only reaching to the ankles in 1810. The dress, as it were, moved upwards, for what it lost in length below it gained in height above; it now covered the arms and shoulders and was gathered into a full frill at the neck. The ethereal nymphs and goddesses had disappeared, giving place to grotesquely clothed figures, more like mandrakes than human beings. This tasteless style of costume

The Repository 1809

reached its height in Vienna in 1817, when the dress, now entirely without bodice, started from the throat and fell half-way down the legs only, being cut out at the bottom in *dents de loup*, and allowing a good length of lace drawer to be seen before it ended in an embroidered band. To this add the former style of hat, and the scarecrow is complete.

The most surprising fact in connection with this short-waisted period is that the ladies were content to go so long without corsets, for a small bodice composed of twenty whalebones hardly served the same purpose, while the iron framework which represented the corset in Paris in 1811 was not much patronised, the less so perhaps because Canova hotly inveighed against it, than because the wearer found it almost impossible to move in it.

Women certainly never dressed to less advantage than during the years between 1811 and 1817. Taking it for granted that the woman's chief object is to make herself beautiful and to please, it is incomprehensible that fashions so highly unbecoming should have lasted so long; perhaps it was with the idea of providing an extra enticement to the men to seek more closely for the jewel that lay hidden in such a strange and unattractive casket. Anyhow no woman was

Le Bon Genre, Paris (about 1810)

found at that time to draw the attention of her sisters to the inharmonious and grotesque appearance she presented; such a thing would to-day be impossible, when the active part taken by women in all matters—literary, artistic, and scientific—has proved the unfailing forbearance and patience of men.

The preference for lighter stuffs led to these being worn even in winter—it was the fashion, and unreasonable to do so—two good reasons against which the warnings of the doctors were of no avail. The latter called catarrhal complaints the "muslin disease," and attributed the increase of consumption to the thinness of clothing. When the influenza broke out in Paris in 1803, as many as 60,000 fell ill daily, this

La belle assemblée 1809

Haller v. Hallerstein THE HATS OF 1810

high number being also put down to the account of muslin. However, some protection against the inclemency of winter was necessary, and from 1796 English flannel found a market on the Continent, the wearing of it being strongly urged by certain physicians, among them Vaughan. Demands for waterproof materials from London also began to be made in 1802.

The objection to hiding the figure led to the discarding of the cloak but brought the cashmere shawl into general fashion. This article of dress possessed all the advantages of which a warm soft material is capable, when it is prettily shaped, elegantly arranged, and fetches a high price; it continued to be worn in various ways for nearly a century. It appeared first somewhere about 1786 in London in the shape of a wrap six yards long and two wide, costing £15 to £30, and so pleased the general taste that it was imitated in printed cotton for the poorer classes. Even Napoleon was powerless to check the inroad of the shawl. Heavy duties had to be paid on English cashmere, but this naturally only led to its being more in demand, and the Emperor,

La Belle Assemblée, London, 1812

although he might occasionally destroy them in his anger, had to give in to Josephine, who was not content with less than 300 to 400 cashmere shawls, each costing 15,000 to 20,000 francs. Shawls to the value of 1200 to 5000 francs were also included in Marie Louise's trousseau; and for ladies of less exalted rank Corbin had his shop in the Rue de Richelieu, where pretty shawls could be had for 600 francs.

The rage for the shawl was not only due to the fact that it was an article of luxury and therefore gave opportunity for rivalry among ladies of fashion; there was also an art, and a very personal art too, in the way of wearing it. The shawl was not just flung over the shoulders like a cloak—it required to be draped; and much individual taste could be displayed in this draping, for the shawl with its elegant folds was admirably fitted to betray or to delicately conceal the graces of

The Repository 1809

the figure. No one spoke of a lady as "well dressed," but as "beautifully draped." And if a lady wearer was in any doubt as to the most becoming way of putting on her shawl, she had only to go to Mme. Gardel, who was ready to instruct her; for this artist, besides appearing in public in the shawl-dance, also gave lessons in the art of posing. It was not

Gillray THE GRACES IN A STORM

until 1808 that fur cloaks began to be worn by the Parisians; being originally brought from Russia they were known as Witzschoura. The shawl, however, still held its own, and in 1812 square Turkish shawls were imported from Vienna, for which 2000 and 3000 florins were paid.

Change in dress was naturally accompanied with a change in the style of hair-dressing. The hair was now worn flatter on the head, an attempt being made to copy the old manner of wearing it as seen in statues; so by degrees the wild *chevelure à la sauvage* of 1796 was tamed down, and the hair at last was drawn closely round the head and sometimes

enclosed in a net: small flat curls on the forehead, and plaits, were also introduced. The shape of the head, which had been previously quite unrecognisable, was now shown as much as possible. Whereas in 1796 none of the women possessed as much hair as they required, in 1806 they could scarcely have too little.

For many years elegance of appearance depended princi-

LES ENNUYÉES DE LONGCHAMP
From "Le bon Genre"

pally on the coiffure; classic and mediæval styles of hair-dressing were studied in order to vary it, and as it was difficult for the ladies to be continually re-arranging their own hair according to fresh models, they all took to wearing wigs. In 1800 it would have been almost impossible to find a woman who wore her own hair, and the colour of the wig varied as frequently as the style; in the morning it might be light and in the evening dark. Mme. Tallien owned thirty different wigs, of which each cost ten louis d'or. Hair was at a premium, and a pound of fair hair could be sold by any

La belle assemblée 1811

one who wished to part with it for seventy francs. The custom of powdering the hair was gradually discontinued during the nineties of the eighteenth century.

Hats altered their fashion in accordance with the hair, and for a while took the shape of old helmets — *casquets à la Minerve* trimmed with laurel wreaths, tilting-helmets of black velvet with high ostrich feathers, which led the way to the coal-scuttle shape, so long in vogue. The first appearance of this may be traced back to 1797, when Demoiselle Mees came on the stage at Hamburg in Grétry's opera of "La Caravane du Caire" in a coal-scuttle bonnet. The funnel-shaped opening of this head-covering grew horizontally longer and longer until it completely concealed the face, which could be caught sight of only far back between the gigantic blinkers, the ladies of that time being referred to in comic papers as the "invisible ones."

The Repository 1813

These bonnets were made of straw, drawn tulle, or light felt, and trimmed with upright flowers or waving feathers, the whole being covered with a large veil. In the summer of 1814 the ladies of Berlin very

La Belle Assemblée, London, 1813

The Repository 1813

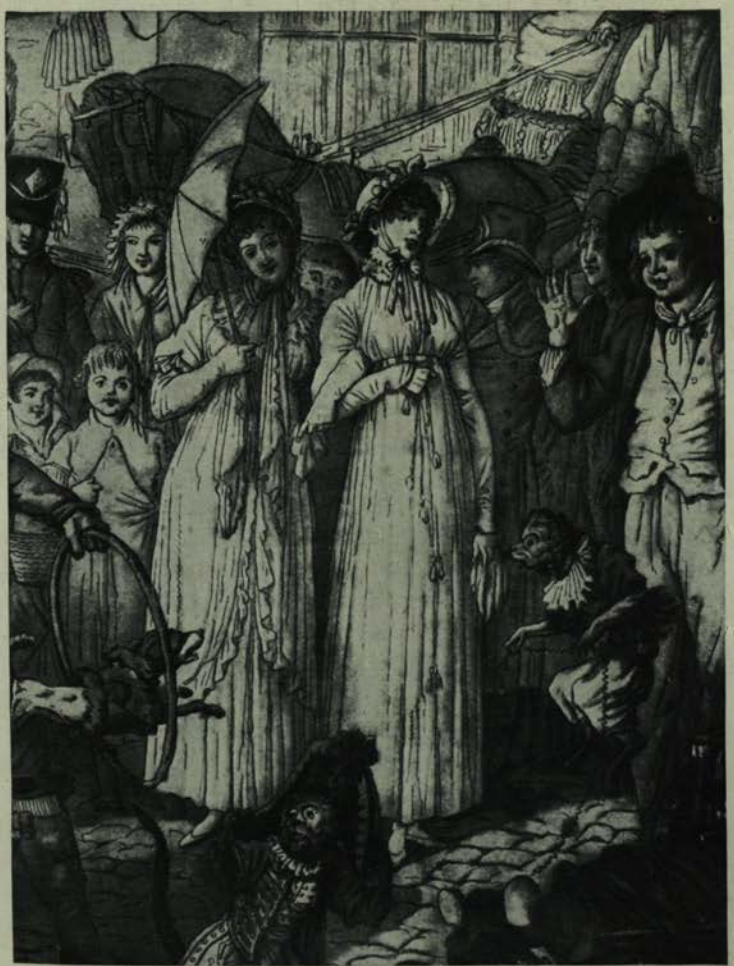
La belle assemblée 1814

La belle assemblée 1814

Eckersberg THE NATHANSON FAMILY

sensibly adorned their bonnets with palm-branches and lilies. Beside these monstrosities of millinery, there were toques and birettas, which gave a certain raciness of appearance when trimmed with a feather that fell over the right or left eye. Other shapes in fashion were the inverted flower-pot, and very high cylindrical forms without a brim. In 1805 Mme. Belmont as Fanchon introduced the loosely hanging kerchief for the head, while the Iphigenia veil worn over the hair was borrowed from the Spanish ladies.

From the beginning of the nineteenth century we find the hood coming into fashion; it fitted closely to the head, the face being encircled with a border of lace, and it met with such favour, that in 1815 in Berlin even the youngest girl, who was a long way off the matrimonial coif, insisted on wearing it. This uniformity of dress, which not only did away with all distinction of class but also of age, was not pleasing to all contemporary onlookers. Reichardt for instance writes to his wife from Paris in 1803, that not only are mother and



C. Vernet — *From "Performing Dogs"*

daughter clothed in exactly the same cut and colour of dress, but that he had seen five men of different age and position on the stage at once, each dressed precisely in the same costume.

As there was now no under-petticoat and the dresses were without pockets, the ladies would have been obliged to carry their odds and ends in their hands, if they had not preferred to take them about with them in a reticule. Since the antiquarians had stated as a fact that the Athenian ladies made use of similar bags, the Parisians were reconciled to doing so too. The reticules were preferably shaped like ancient urns and made of cardboard, lacquered tin, &c., and ornamented to look like Etruscan vases, so that the elegant ladies who carried them could quite fancy themselves priestesses.

The Repository 1813

The straightness of line and plainness of colour of this classic style of dress called loudly for ornament, and jewellery began to be worn almost to excess. At first cameos were the chosen ornaments, and the demand for costly old work of the kind led to whole choice collections of Italian princes being sent over to Paris, nominally for the museums in France, and here they passed through the extravagant Josephine's hands into the possession of her friends. Bracelets on wrists and ankles, rings on the fingers and toes, chains long enough to go six or seven times round the neck, earrings with three hanging pendants, innumerable combs and diadems were all part of fashionable adornment.

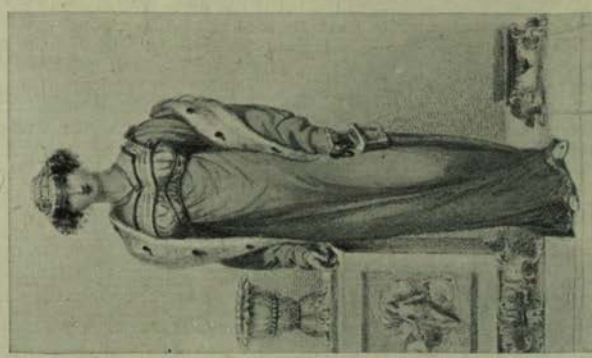
The Countess Potocka possessed, beyond her 300 costly pieces of jewellery, 144 rings at least; and when the Countess Schwichelt stole £40,000 worth of

1813

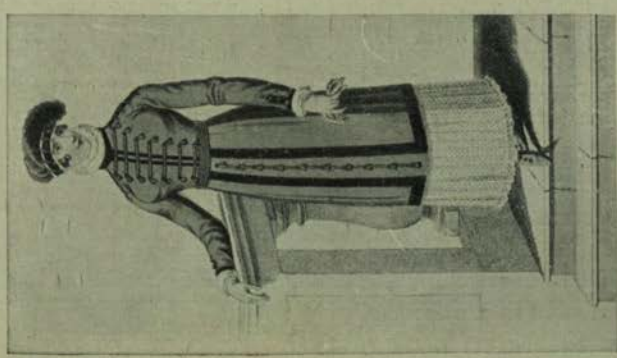
1812

La Belle Assemblée, London

La belle assemblée 1812



The Repository 1813



La belle assemblée 1812

The Repository 1814

diamonds from her friend Frau von Demidoff, at a ball, she only carried off a small portion of the latter's stock. At the time that the Countess Vosz was noting in her diary that she had not for long seen a single precious stone at the Prussian court, the jewellery of the ladies assembled at a court ball in Paris, which represented the procession of the Peruvians to the Temple of the Sun, was estimated as worth twenty million francs. Still more indicative of the taste of the parvenu society at the French court is the fact that pearls were not much considered, while amethysts were highly prized among precious stones, the rich amethyst mines of Brazil and Russia not having yet been opened.

When the Prussian women in 1813 willingly sacrificed to the Fatherland the little that had been left them by the French, they literally gave gold for iron, for they then began to wear jewellery made of iron which the medallist Loos of Berlin introduced for sale. It was characteristic of the time that even ornament could not wholly escape a

1813

1815

La Belle Assemblée, London

Vernet MERVEILLEUSES

touch of pedantry, and so in 1793 the mineralogists of Dresden, Dr. Gresz and Dr. Titius, introduced the litho-logical ring, which consisted of a gold circlet of which the stone could be changed at pleasure. With thirty various assorted stones it cost from 14 to 19 thalers.

A luxury less patent to the eye was the more liberal use of under-linen, and here the Imperial couple set a good example to their people. Napoleon, to the great astonishment of his immediate surroundings, changed his linen every day, and Josephine hers three times a day; and the latter when making a present of her trousseau to her niece, Mlle. Tacher de la

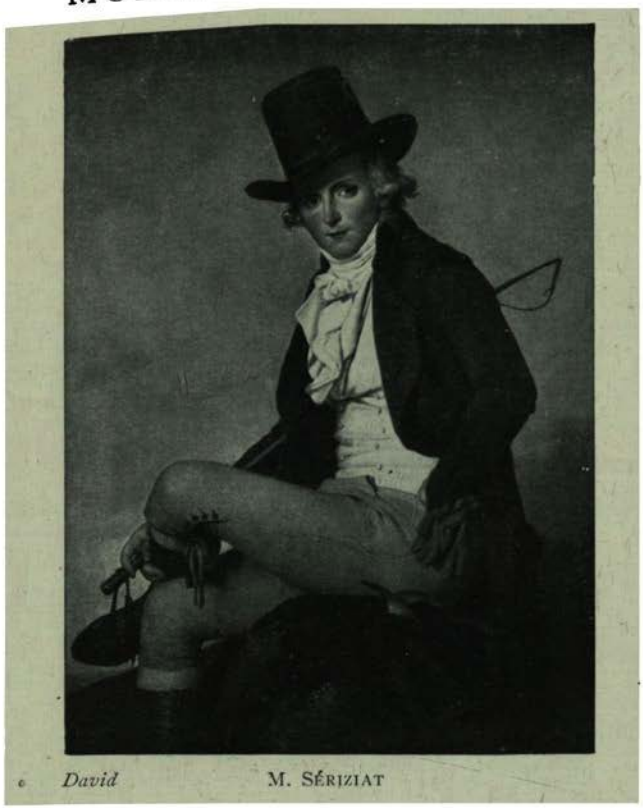
Pajerie, included in it 25,000 francs' worth of underclothing. For the snuff-takers there were bright-coloured pocket-handkerchiefs; in 1812 they were made of Indian calico and printed with maps; in 1814 they were of cotton, and had on them the apotheosis of Wellington or a comic portrait of Napoleon.

The revolution in men's dress preceded the political overthrow. Goethe fifteen years previously had described it in his "Werther" as worn in 1789. The change that took place in it was less to do with cut than with material and colour. Cloth and leather were worn instead of silk and velvet; dark shades of brown and blue instead of pink, violet, and light green.

Vernet MERVEILLEUSES

Chalon PRINCESS CHARLOTTE OF WALES 1816

The original cut of the tail-coat underwent alteration in so far that it could now be buttoned across the chest and that the tails were wider; for nether garments the men still stuck to the closely fitting knee-breeches. The most striking changes were the substitution of boots for shoes, of a round smooth hat for the gold-edged and befeathered three-cornered one, and the wearing of the hair as it grew naturally, instead of having it curled and powdered. When the French Revolution further brought the long trouser into general wear, then everybody felt that the old condition of society had passed away for ever, for the costumes of the lower classes had now taken possession of the salons. Only the very poorest had up till then left their hair unpowdered,



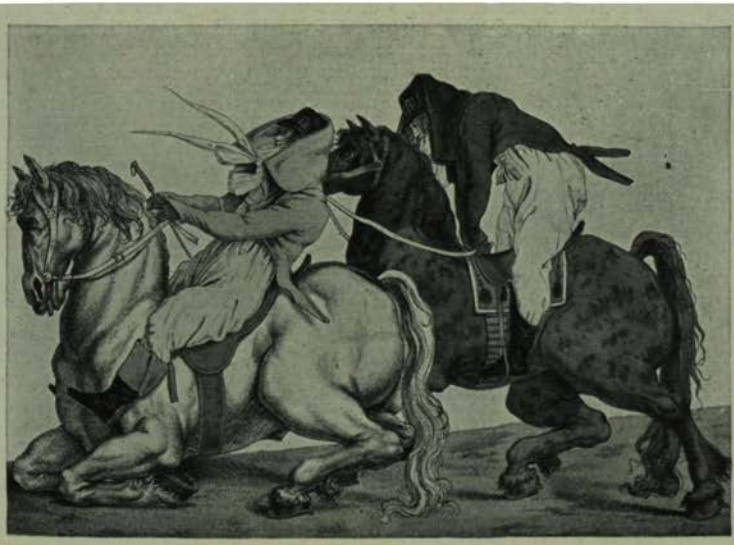
David M. SÉRIZIAT

only carters' men had worn high boots, only common sailors long trousers and round hats; and with the assumption of these outward habiliments of the ordinary public the men of the upper class altered their bearing. He who goes about in fancy shoes, with a dress sword at his side and his hair carefully curled and powdered, is bound to carry himself differently to the man who cares not if the wind blows his hair about, or if the road is muddy or dry.

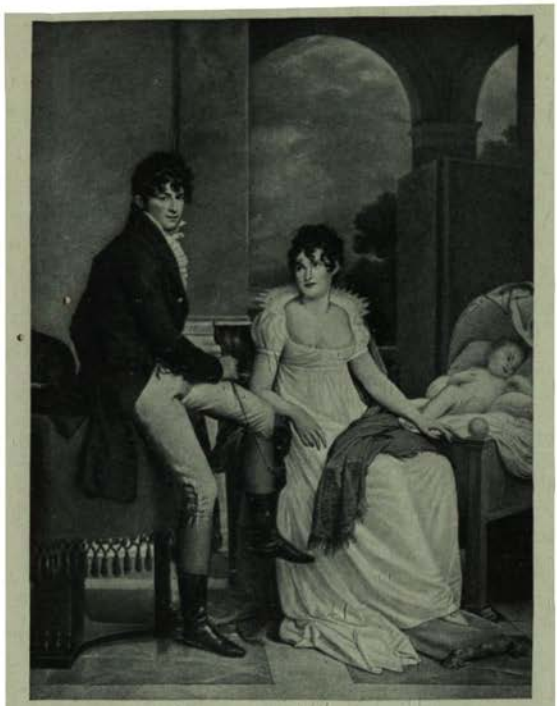
Older people looked on with disgust at the new style of behaviour; but the stronger the opposition of the conservative members of society, the more determined was the younger generation to carry the day.

The trouser worn by the *sans-culotte* (a name which signified without knee-breeches, not without leg covering of any kind) slowly grew into fashion. In 1791 it had reached the middle of the calf; in 1793 it had got as low as the shoe. It continued to be looked upon as unseemly, but after Frederick William III. of Prussia appeared in 1797 in long trousers at the baths of Pyrmont, though still regarded with disfavour, it was decided that they must be endured. Meanwhile knee-breeches were not wholly discarded, and they continued to be preferred by every one who had a well-shaped leg. Bettine relates charming anecdotes in this connection about old Jacobi; but they became more and more confined to elderly wearers, and after 1815 were never seen again in public.

The trouser was worn sometimes loose, sometimes quite close-fitting; in the latter case natural shortcomings were compensated for by false calves, just as the ladies in 1796 wore false arms under their long gloves (and even false figures made of wax, according to information sent from



CAVALCADE DE LONGCHAMPS
From "Le bon Genre"



Gérard COUNT FRIES AND FAMILY

London in 1798). The vainer men, who swore by the figure, also wore corsets just about the time when women were giving them up. At the New Year's ball given at the Russian Embassy in Berlin in 1801, Herr von Dorville fell down dead after dancing violently; he had in his vanity literally laced himself to death at the knees, waist, and throat.

Simultaneously with the trouser the coat also increased in dimensions, and the broad-tailed English riding-coat developed into the French *redingote*. The tails grew in breadth and length, and in 1791 already reached the ground; with the exaggeration usual in the adoption of foreign fashions, the men in Hamburg wore their coat-tails so long that they were obliged to hold them up when walking, as a lady the train of her dress. Then again the tails grew shorter, but still retained sufficient breadth to be crossed over in front; by about 1800 the *redingote* assumed almost its final shape, as we see it represented in Rauch's statuette of the aged Goethe. Fashion was less concerned with the shape of this article of attire than with its embellishment; different coloured collars were introduced. In place of the embroidery, which had now

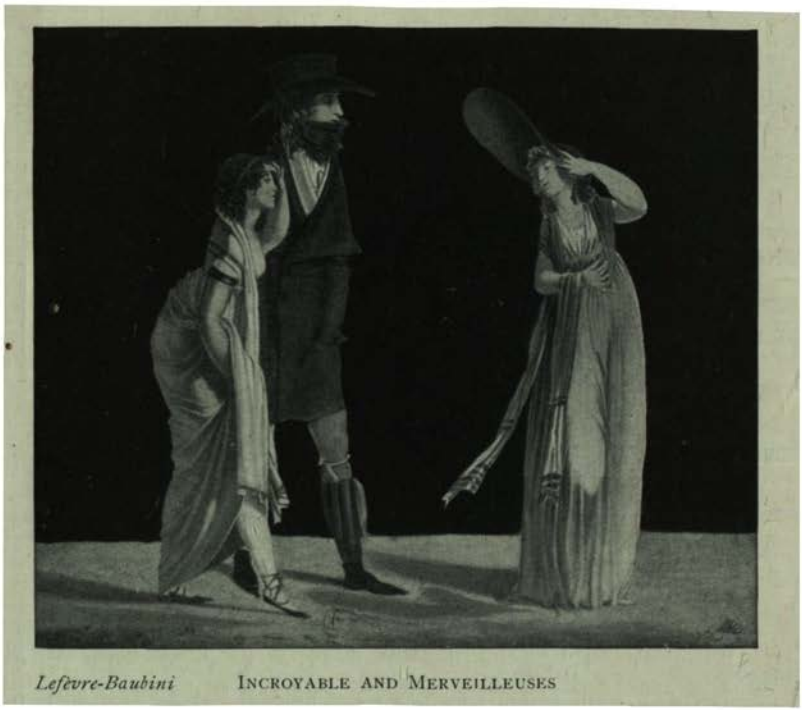
La Belle Assemblée, London, 1814

entirely disappeared from everyday apparel; the men in Berlin for instance had collar and facings of red to their dark blue coats. Sometimes several collars falling over one another were worn, and these received the name of *capot à la Polonaise*, a fashion which long remained in use for coachmen's livery.

The colour of men's "spencers" grew continually darker—bottle-green, brown, grey, black, or a dirty mixture of pepper and salt, which was known by an inelegant name.

Goya MARQUIS DE S. ADRIAN

From the beginning of the nineties men confined the extravagance of their taste for dress to the waistcoat. The old wide-skirted waistcoat, reaching well over the hips, gradually gave place to the short vest, which during the period when ladies wore their dresses so short-waisted barely extended below the breast. It was therefore provided with three open flaps, which gave the sham appearance of the wearer being clad in three vests; these were of different colours, a vest of 1791 with flaps of green, yellow, and mother-of-pearl was considered very chic. The vest was also furnished with a high standing collar, that rose above the turnover collar of the coat and was made as decorative as possible as regards material and pattern. In Berlin, in 1814,



Lefèvre-Baubini INCROYABLE AND MERVEILLEUSES

white vests were worn made of *piqué*, stamped with the iron cross and the name of the men who had been decorated with the cross of the first order.

While it was the fashion for women to give themselves a goître-like appearance with their *trompeuses*, men wore monstrously thick neckcloths, which were held in place by padded silk cushions. In 1793 the neckcloth had risen above the chin; over it was wound a muslin cravat, and over that again a variegated silk handkerchief. With these and the *iabot* and the threefold vest, there was not much to choose between the men and women's figures. Turning from these ridiculous exaggerations to the vest, we find it approaching its final form in that it was no longer carried below the waist. By about 1815 this, and the other two articles of man's

Hamburger Journal der Moden und Eleganz, 1802

attire, the coat and the trousers, were essentially the same as they are now, all extravagance of style having been discarded.

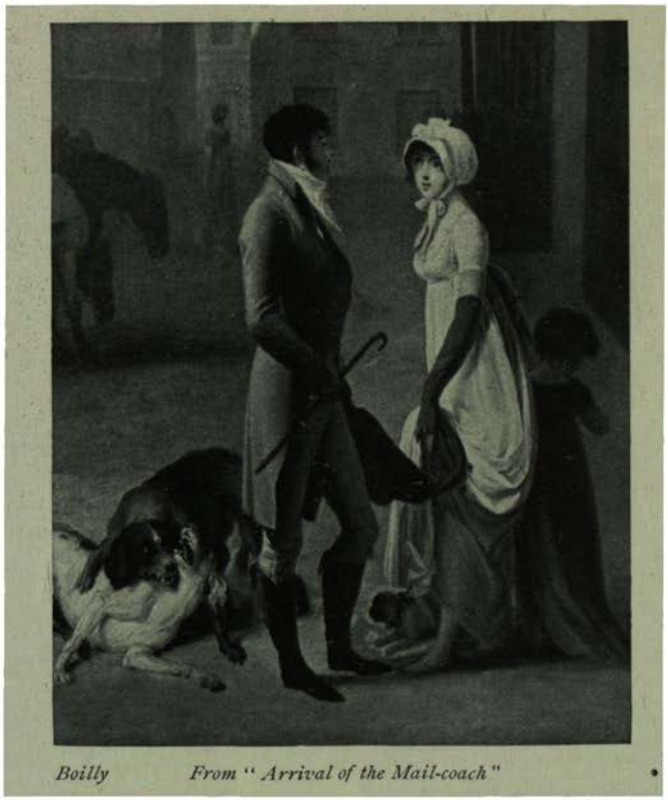
Cloaks were so little worn by men, that when during the severe winter of 1809 fur cloaks were introduced into Paris, the wearers were actually jeered at as they walked along. The greater simplicity of style in dress did not prevent the dandies giving as much of their attention to it as formerly. In Vienna the young puppies, as Carl J. Weber unkindly calls them, not only changed their dress two or three times a day, but also entered into contracts with the tailors, who for 3000 to 4000 florins engaged to supply them every week or month with fresh outfits in exchange for the old ones. This same kind of arrangement was carried out in Paris as early as 1805; and here the men were bound to have their coats from Catin, their trousers from Acerby, and their

vests from Thomassin. It required a particular talent to arrange the neckcloth and tie the bow in the proper manner. It will be remembered that Beau Brummel's fame with regard to this achievement was undisputed; and in Paris in 1804 Etienne Demarelli was so noted for his skill in the tying of the bow, that he gave courses of instruction of six hours each, for nine francs an hour.

Although the general dress of this time was plainer as regards colour and cut, the old richly-embroidered court dress was still to be seen on state occasions; it was *de rigueur* at the court of St. James for ceremonial wear, and was reintroduced by Napoleon. Count Metternich, the Austrian ambassador, when in Frankfort in 1790, spent 36,000 florins on his servants' livery alone; the court dress of the Duke of Bedford at the King's levée in 1791 cost £500. He had the compensation, however, of seeing his costume described, down to the smallest detail, in the *London Chronicle*. In 1801 Lord Courtenay, on a similar occasion, spent £50 on each of his servants' liveries, and £500 on his own dress.

The accessories of a man's dress, such as hat and boots, followed English fashion, as did the riding-coat and leathern riding-breeches; and like these they were eminently practical and comfortable. The round sailor-like hat went through endless transformations before the crown and brim assumed the shape which was father to our chimney-pot; so also did the high boots as worn by Werther. After these had become the fashion in Paris in 1790—partly because they came from England, partly because they were convenient for the mud of the Parisian streets, and thirdly, because silver shoe-buckles had to be sacrificed on the country's altar—they were adopted in other countries, and it appears that in Berlin the men kept them on all day and even appeared in them in society. Possibly the importance attached to their exquisite polish as a criterion of elegance by the English beaux, Mr. Skeffington and Colonel Matthews, may have had something to do with this. The best boot-polish, it may be added, was obtained from England. The hair, which as late as 1789

A STYLISH LADY *by* VERNET *(about 1814)*



Boilly *From "Arrival of the Mail-coach"*

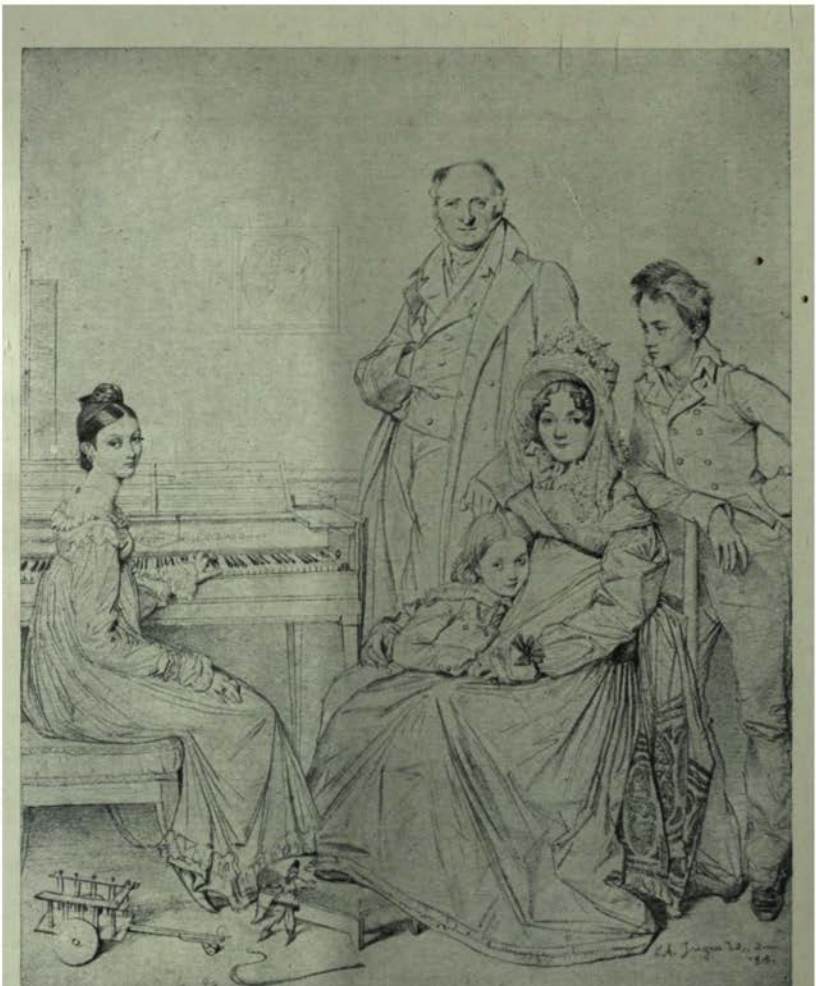
was still worn by the men in thousands of little crisp curls standing out from the head, was in 1791 hanging long and smooth down to the collar, and gathered into a short pigtail or English bag-wig at the back.

In 1798 it began to be cut quite short by some, while others wore it in curls, which they fastened up with spangled combs; in 1806 it was worn *au coup de vent*, quite short at the back and hanging down over the eyes in front; in 1809 it was again curled in small locks *en chérubin*. Finally the short frizzled head of hair gave place to the plain short-cut hair, the style which offers the least trouble, and is not spoilt by the wearing of any kind of hat.

Ingres PORTRAITS OF HUSBAND AND WIFE 1816

The young fops of that day displayed their elegance in a seeming negligence of toilette, whereby they desired to give proof of their independence of thought, which naturally provoked the censure of their elders who were not disposed to accept slovenliness for originality. This want of agreement between the elder portion of society whose taste was for refinement of dress and precision of behaviour, and the younger members, who liked to be as boisterous and as comfortably clad as they chose, caused fashion and politics to be curiously mingled.

In Paris, before the events of 1789, any particular style of dress was merely attributed to the extravagance or affectation of the wearer, but after that date it assumed a political aspect,



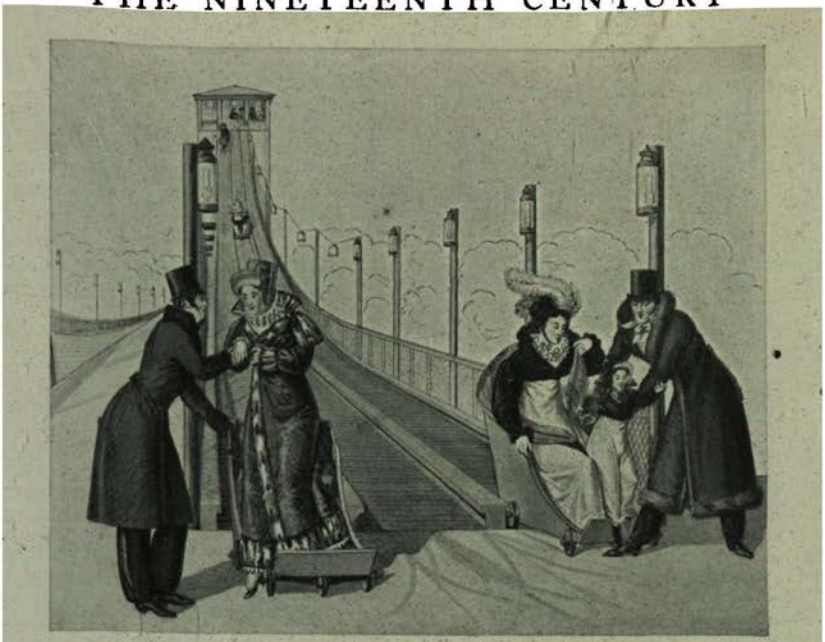
Ingres THE STAMATY FAMILY 1818

and rendered the wearer liable to be suspected. To wear long trousers instead of knee-breeches, high boots instead of shoes, straight hair instead of powdered curls, was no longer only a

Debucourt *"Oh c'est bien ça!"*

matter of taste, but an open confession of political views, and as such was not without danger.

No one dared after the Reign of Terror had begun in 1792, to go about clean or carefully dressed, for fear of calling down upon themselves the suspicion of the terrorists; many who were found wearing the courtly knee-breeches instead of the long republican trouser paid for what the public considered their treason on the scaffold. Women came off no better than the men; that lady was fortunate who, having by some detail or other of dress aroused the anger of the fishwives in the market, escaped with a public chastisement; a disgraceful indecency which cost Théroigne de Méricourt her reason. When the Royalists again ventured to show themselves after the 9th Thermidor, and the reactionary youth of the better class, jeered at by their opponents as "Muscadins," made demonstration of their opinions with their powdered hair and black coat collars, the Jacobins in counter demonstration



RUSSIAN TOBOGGAN
From "Le bon Genre"

wore their plain hair and red collars. Bloody encounters took place between the two parties in the streets of Paris; when the soldiery took part with the red collars many paid for their black ones with the loss of liberty, for the government then established considered Muscadins and Incroyables of far less value than soldiers. Later on cropped hair laid its wearer open to ill-treatment as a Chouan; and when, after Napoleon's downfall, the Restoration, full of mistrust and suspicion, opposed itself to everything that was reminiscent of the Empire, public prosecutors, judges and police, had welcome opportunity of showing their loyalty by furious attacks on "seditious buttons."

In England, under Pitt, the cost of prosecuting the war with France led to an enormous rise in the taxes, and in 1795 an extra one was laid on the use of powder—£1 a year

Rudolf Zacharias Becker 1814

THE REAL GERMAN FULL-DRESS COSTUME

had to be paid for permission to powder one's hair! Thereafter it was considered a mark of loyalty to wear powdered hair, while the oppositionists, with the Duke of Bedford at their head, cut their hair short so as to be able to wear it unpowdered.

The regulations issued by the Paris police in 1797 against the wearing of long hair found a remarkable echo in St. Petersburg, where the Emperor Paul I. forbade the wearing of round hats, as he considered them "hiding-places for the infamy and shame of secret Jacobins." And as his unfortunate subjects did not get out of the hiding-places quickly enough to please him, he issued a fresh ukase in 1798 which compelled every one to go back to the hat which had been in fashion in 1775.

All the older and more conservative members of society in Germany were naturally opposed to the new style of dress,

A STYLISH LADY *by VERNET (about 1814)*

whereas the younger were equally determined to adopt it, even those in the royal service of Prussia, until it was notified to them in 1798 that the wearing of trousers, and their own hair cut short round the head, was not becoming to the dignity and gravity of any one in an official post—what wonder that the bureaucracy have never since cut off their pigtails! The Landgrave of Cassel hit on a drastic means of disgusting his Hessians with the new French fashions; he ordered that the chained convicts who swept the streets and wheeled barrows, as well as the women in the house of correction, should be dressed in the latest French fashion.

Pius VII. began his reign with similar precautions for the preservation of good manners as his predecessor had observed at the close of his. As Pius VI. had forbidden the modern tight trouser, so Pius VII. condemned wholesale the "modern licentious mode of dress"; just as, shortly before, when they took possession of Rome, the French had tried to abolish the

Goya CARL IV. AND MARIA LUISA OF SPAIN

Kupelweiser SCHUBERT AND HIS FRIENDS
From Leisching, "Der Wiener Kongress"

Abbé dress. It was a continual struggle between old and young, and if finally the young got the victory, it nevertheless remained undecided for a long time. It is reported from Paris in 1806 that every style that had existed during the last sixty to eighty years was being worn; and we know from Wilhelm von Kügelgen, Bettine, Ludwig A. Richter, and others, that knee-breeches and buckled shoes, powder and pigtails, were still met with far into the nineteenth century. Decrees forbidding certain styles of dress were as unsuccessful as the contemporary attempt to introduce a national costume.

Of the latter attempt we have already spoken, and we may here add that in France, where everybody was so anxious to blot out the past that even the calendar was altered and playing cards had fresh names given to them, an effort was made to establish a new civic dress. But all suggestions to this end by the enthusiastic David remained attempts only. In vain at the public festivals arranged by him did he attire his choruses of men and women, boys and girls, in classic costume and crown them with wreaths; this was an easy

accomplishment compared with the doing away of hats, neckties, wristbands, and breeches. He could not bring the men to go about in tunics with bare neck and arms and legs; and although the women at one time clothed themselves, as they believed, in classic style, it was not due to David's efforts but to English fashion. A similar attempt was made in Germany twenty years later, when the growth of patriotism led to the desire for a national costume. Karoline Pichler wanted men and women to be dressed according to their several stations in life; Wilhelmine von Chézy demanded a

Gatine DIABOLO

general national costume for women; Rudolf Zacharias Becker, L. W. Wittich, and others designed a holiday dress of correct German fashion; but in spite of all these well-intentioned efforts, which were supported by various writings from the pen of Ernst Moritz Arndt, the movement came to nothing, and society could not be persuaded to adopt the desired dress even though it was represented as an indication of German virtue. What was described as correctly German was nothing more than a mixture of mediæval styles, which

laid no claim to Teutonic origin, and we find French puffed sleeves, Stuart collars, Spanish birettas, &c., introduced as part of the costume; even the national dress of the German men as adopted by the young noblemen of Frankfort in 1815, had nothing essentially characteristic in its military-like cut, although the exceedingly scanty item in the way of linen, apparently confined to a stand-up collar, was suspiciously suggestive of the wolf hunter.

The old-German fashion lasted only a short time, but adroit dealers in ready-made clothes were far-sighted enough to know how to make profit out of it. At Lichtenauer's in Hanover, bodices might be bought which could immediately transform any dress into an "old-German" one, just as a little while ago the kimono was used to give a Japanese appearance to the costume; while the firm of Milter in Cassel advertised ruffs *à la Rembrandt*, at 3 thalers for men and 2½ for women. Again, the Polish national costume adopted by the people of Warsaw in 1789, which was, however, only worn by men—the Polish ladies continued to follow French fashions—did not, at least as far as the upper classes were concerned, survive the national enthusiasm incident on the Polish insurrection under Kosciusko.

Articles of apparel generally worn by any particular people, such as the Spanish mantilla, give, it is true, a national character to the dress, which led Frau von Humboldt when travelling through Spain to think that the women of that country had a national costume, whereas the short-waisted bodice she describes was undoubtedly to be traced to French models. The mantilla alone was what gave the idea of a general style of dress, and the Spanish ladies have been wise enough not to abolish this graceful item of their toilette. Spanish ladies of rank dressed entirely according to French fashion, Queen Maria Luisa setting the example; we know well how the latter looked in the newest style of French dress, with her hair curled *à la flèche*, from the many portraits extant of her—with her beautiful figure and dissolute face—by the Spanish artist Goya. The fact that the French

had sent her nearest relatives to the scaffold did not prevent this queen from ordering her dresses exclusively from Paris, until one of her ladies played her a malicious trick. The Duchess of Alba, whom Goya has painted as often as the queen, had managed somehow to get a dress from Paris of the very newest style and the facsimile of one of the queen's, and on the occasion of the latter first appearing in hers, the duchess sent her maid on to the promenade in the duplicate attire. The duchess after this did not easily regain the queen's favour. This same queen, whose marriage relations were curiously three-sided, sent Napoleon a present of eighteen Andalusian horses from the royal stables in 1800, and received a present in return of French dresses. Josephine was considerate enough to send her own dressmaker, citoyenne Minette, with them that she might superintend the fitting; and this lady did a little business of her own at the same time, for instead of ten chests she took twenty-seven with her, filled with chiffons from Paris, over which the ladies of Madrid fought with one another in their eagerness to obtain a share.

Johs. Melch. Kraus

AN EVENING AT THE DUCHESS ANNA AMALIA'S HOUSE IN WEIMAR

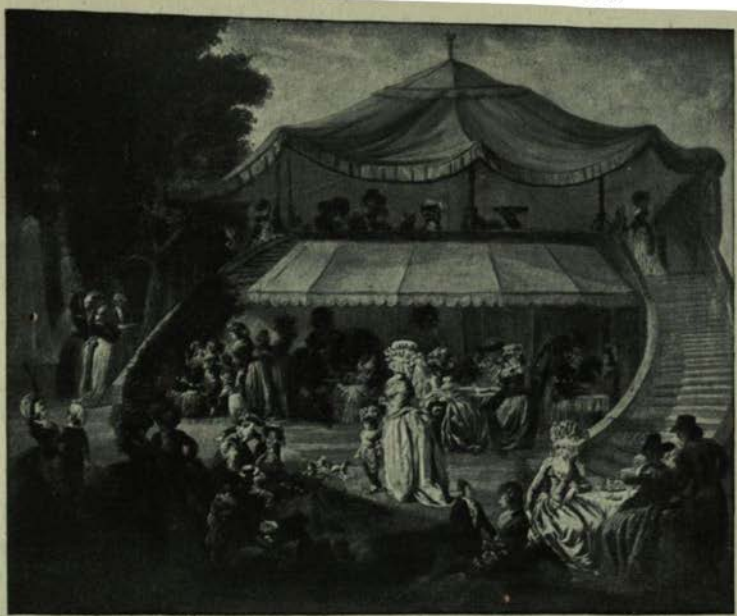
V

WHEN we picture to ourselves what the condition of Europe was during the decade of which we are now speaking—the terrible burden pressing upon every nation, and the complete ruin of all property—we are inclined to imagine that the people must have lost all joy and pleasure in life and have succumbed under the weight of the universal trouble and unrest. But this was by no means the case; hardly at any time have men and women lived at a faster rate or been more determined to amuse themselves than during this period when they never knew what fresh disaster the morrow might bring forth. Goethe's mother, writing to her son from Frankfort, describes the general unrest and uncertainty of life. Rich people, she says, "wait with their trunks already packed and their horses in the shafts prepared for flight at any minute;" and she herself is so burdened with the continued quartering

Wiener Moden, 1816

upon her of the soldiers—"the Prussians bring wife, child, and servant with them"—that she would sell her beautiful house for any sum offered in order to get rid of this nuisance; and then follow bits of society gossip and accounts of her visits to the theatre: the greatest trouble of the old lady after all being that she can only get her fashion journal sent to her from Weimar! The Kügelgens in Dresden had to sleep on straw for weeks together, the whole house being taken up by soldiers, who "exercise considerably more might than right." Perthes in 1807 had twelve Spaniards quartered on him, and even Clemens Brentano, who was only living in furnished rooms in the country, was forced to give lodging to two men and their horses. Others fled from their homes—Schlosser first to Ansbach and then to Eutin; Jacobi left Pempelfort and went to Wandsbeck, and Princess Gallitzin removed from Münster to Holstein. Valuable possessions were buried or hidden away, and in some cases sent to the care of trustworthy persons. Goethe had requests from his friends in every direction to take charge of their treasures. Lilla von Kügelgen writes: "Everything is tottering beneath our feet, and in spite of this, entertainments continue their melancholy course, as Goethe expresses it;" so much so that at Frankfort-on-the-Main in 1807 the entrance-fee to the public masked balls had to be doubled to prevent the excessive crush. Distraction was chiefly sought in social gatherings and the theatre, the papers at that time not being suited to drive away boredom. Only in England did they run to twelve columns daily; after 1805 twice daily, following the example of the *Times*. The Continent was very much behindhand in this matter; even during the exciting days of the years 1812–14, the papers only appeared three times a week, and the editor was subjected to the most incredible censorship—Naude, the chief of the police in Berlin, not even allowing the publication of Blücher's addresses to his soldiers!

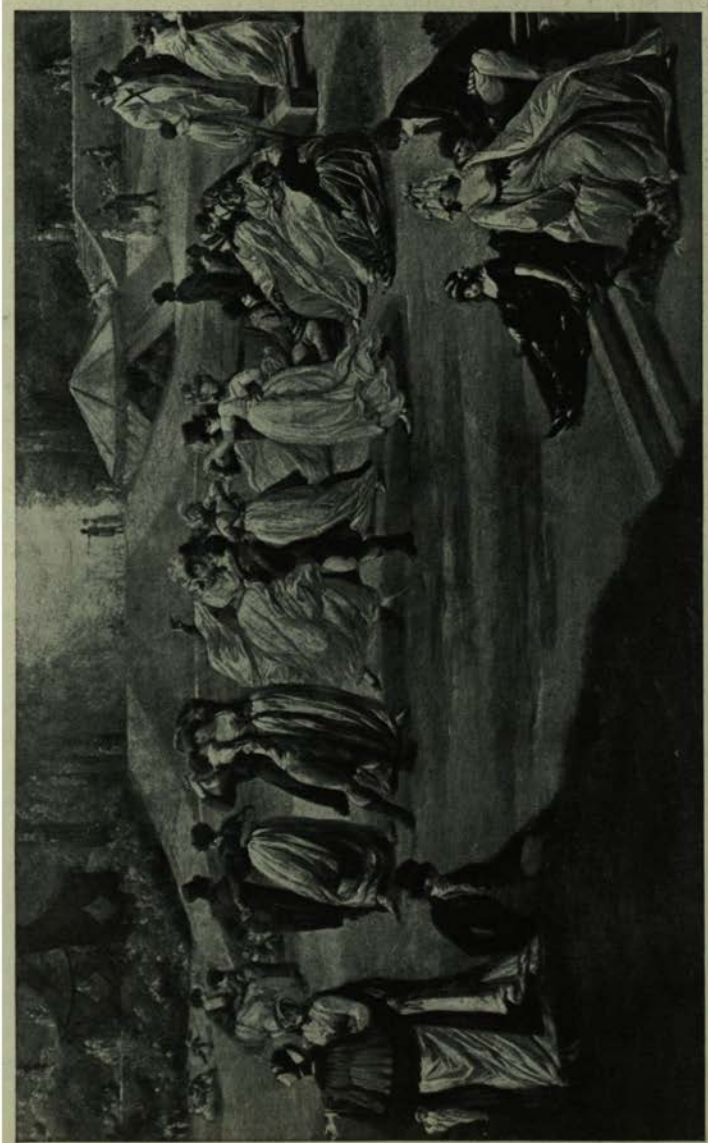
Among the most readable of the political newspapers were, in Germany, Becker's *Imperial Gazette*, the *Hamburg Correspondent*, the *National Times*, and the *Swabian Mercury;* in France



Watteau, the Younger PAVILLON

the *Journal des Débats* and the *Moniteur.* But even their circulation was limited enough; the edition of the *Moniteur* in 1803 was only 3000 copies, the *Journal des Débats*, the most largely read of the French papers, only 6000. Quite a sensation was caused in Paris in 1803 when the paper offered a prize for the solution of a riddle; it was talked about for weeks, and the editor received no less than 8773 solutions to his enigma!

It was a general complaint of the time that, with the suppression of rank and position caused by the Revolution, good manners, delicacy of feeling, and courtesy had also disappeared; the bad manners of the newly enriched and of the parvenus who had risen into power were the theme of endless ridicule, which did not cease even at the throne. Napoleon himself, to whom nothing was sacred, to whom the death of a million men was a matter of indifference, was



DANCING

Watteau, the Younger 1799

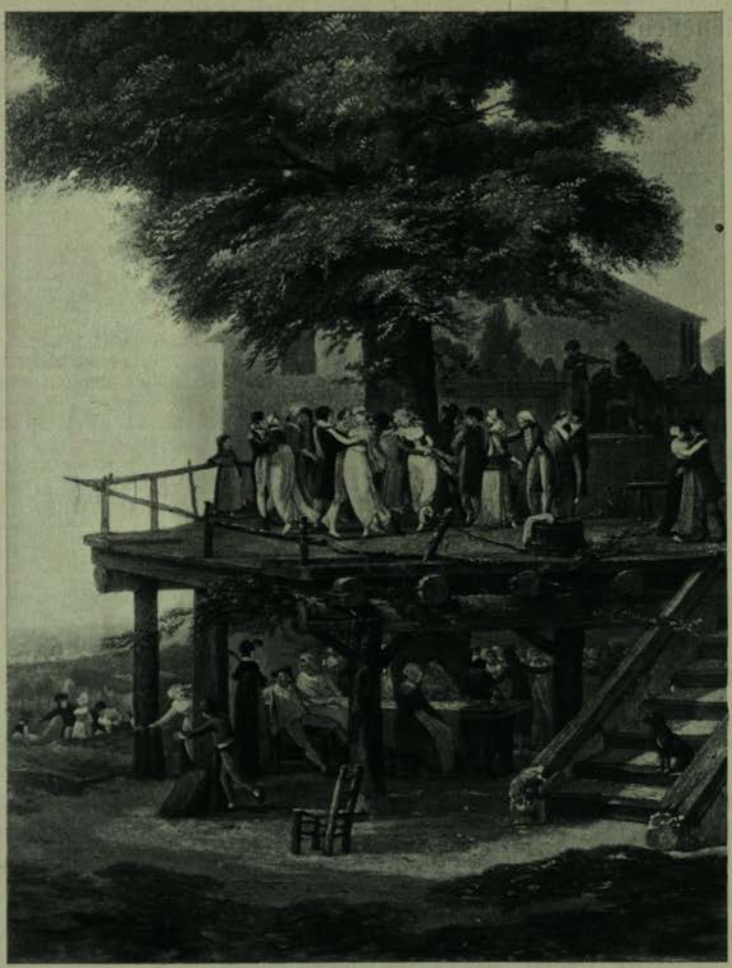
terribly afraid of the ridicule which became so caustic in Gillray's mouth. He who stood in awe of no man, fought shy of the laugh of society. Not knowing the correct manner in which to address women, he was brusque with them; not feeling sure of himself when he had to take part in any public performance, he studied the speech and action of Talma: and his anxiety about etiquette went so far that the whole court had to go through a rehearsal in Notre Dame before his coronation. Mme. de Rémusat thought him undignified; Talleyrand, who must have known pretty well all about him, thought what a pity it was that so great a man had been so badly brought up. This accounts for his uncertainty with regard to all questions of social tact; he, the world conqueror, was forced to capitulate to etiquette. He insisted on establishing a new order of things throughout Europe, but for the arrangement of his own court he went back to Carlovingians and Merovingians, and the ceremony of his marriage with Marie Louise was conducted in precise imitation of that of Marie Antoinette.

Cheesmann, after Buck

MRS. MOUNTAIN

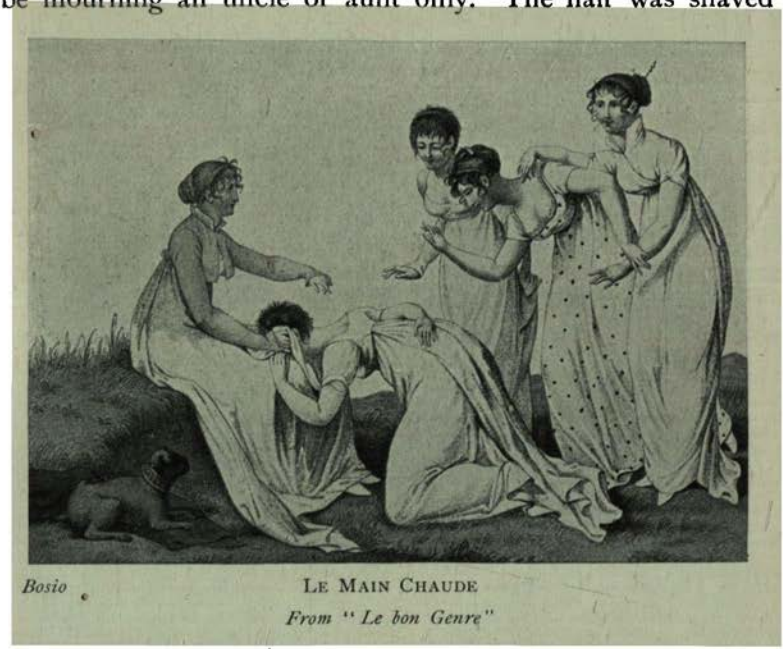
Society is stronger than the individual, however high and mighty he may be; society in the end obliges the parvenus to conform to the behaviour which it has itself settled to be the correct one. In Paris, after Thermidor, it was thought to be good form to mourn—the remainder of the aristocracy had just been liberated from prison, and looked pale and emaciated; and so every woman, even if not a

The Repository, London, 1816



Debucourt DANCING IN THE OPEN AIR

member of the higher class, put on the air of having been incarcerated and of having to mourn the death of near relatives. When the "Bal des victimes" was given in the Hôtel Richelieu, only those were admitted who had lost parents or brothers or sisters by the guillotine; it was not sufficient to be mourning an uncle or aunt only. The hair was shaved



Bosio LE MAIN CHAUDE
From "Le bon Genre"

from the nape of the neck, as preparatory to execution; men and women greeted one another with a nod, as if their heads were just falling into the headsman's basket; and the ladies tied a narrow red ribbon round their necks to show the place where—it is not necessary to go further! The society that succeeded fell into the opposite extreme, and frivolity gave place to an absurd affectation of sentiment.

At a soirée given by Mme. Tallien, the hostess, wishing to ask a lady to sing, goes and kneels before her, pleading with uplifted arms and clasped hands for this favour, and remains in this charming attitude—her soulful eyes hanging

on the lips of the singer—until the lady has finished her song. Every movement and expression of theirs is ecstatic; and all who have the courage go and do likewise. It is a life of pose; ladies hold receptions lying on their Greek couches, remain in graceful attitudes, and clothe themselves in graceful draperies. Everything is done for effect, and

Debucourt MODERN PARIS

the women seek to make themselves as interesting objects as possible by faintings, nerve crises, and the like. When Mlle. Kirchgessner plays on the harmonica, the "nerve-shattering tones" of this instrument so affect the audience that the ladies have nervous fits; when Mme. Chevalier sings in "Bluebeard," all the ladies swoon; and Kotzebue's "Misanthropy and Repentance" lets loose floods of tears both in Paris and London.

French society had possessed a style and lost it; more eastern countries had yet to find one. It is reported in 1791 from Berlin, the capital of the as yet half-Slavic Prussia, that when those of higher class were invited out by their social

Debucourt THE VISITING HOUR 1800

inferiors, they dressed themselves less well than at other times, the men going without swords, and the ladies not wearing their diamonds and keeping on their hats. Achim von Arnim writes in 1806 on the occasion of the masked ball, at which Queen Luise appeared as Titania, that the court party was very bored, and that the ordinary guests became rude and churlish, or else remained without speaking. And some years later Gabriele von Bülow asserts that there is no such thing in Berlin as pleasant social intercourse, the people being too heavy and thick-witted; and he remarks further on the total absence of formality.

With the change in social relations grew up a corresponding change in social entertainments. The less pretentious and worthy citizens were not bound by any conventionalities, and were free to amuse themselves as they chose. They cared nothing for gallantry, the prevailing element in aristocratic society, and preferred the heavier atmosphere of learning. When they met together their chief aim was culture, and reading-clubs grew into fashion. Plays were read aloud,

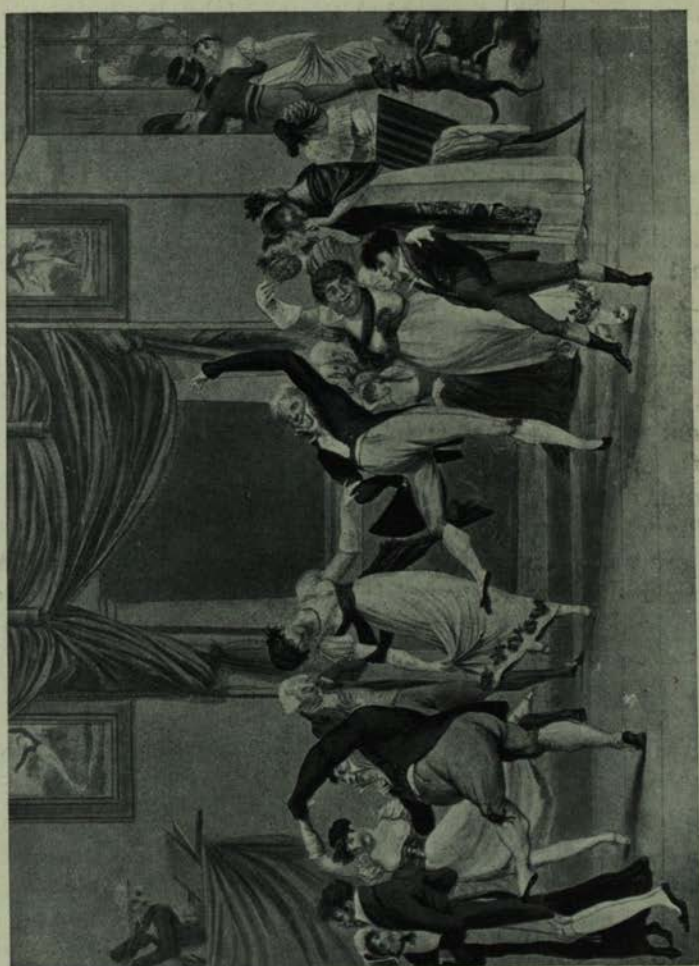
Harriet LE SÉRAIL 1800

each one present taking a character, or else some one read while the others occupied themselves, the ladies preferably with needlework. We have a charming picture of the Weimar circle assembled at the house of the Duchess Anna Amalia, and Frau Goethe gives us an animated description of the social gatherings at the house of Bethmann, Schwarzkopf, and others, at which "Don Carlos" and "Wallenstein" were read aloud. Clemens Brentano read "Lucinde," which had just appeared, with young girls in Jena. Goethe had his Wednesday meetings, when he lectured to the assembled ladies. A reading-club met at the Grimms' house in Cassel every Friday. Henriette Herz collected a circle round her of kindred æsthetic spirits in Berlin, and in Halle the house of the choirmaster Reichardt was the centre of a harmless set. It was not only here that the chief pleasure sought was music. To enjoy one's self means, with many, only making one's self heard. Singing was cultivated both in the family circle and among friends, as we know from the songs that we

find scattered through the novels of Goethe, Arnim, and other writers, and which, as soon as these were published, appeared set to music. Diaries and almanacks also had musical additions to their contents. The mandoline or the guitar was in everybody's hand. Clemens Brentano travels up and down

From the "Berlinischer Damen Kalender" 1803

the Rhine with his, moving the hearts of all the pretty girls with his singing, and only a bit put out when, like the Thuringian girls in Langensalza, they bestow their unsolicited kisses on the dark-haired youth. Caroline von Dacheroden relates to her betrothed with pride, how one of her admirers has sung love songs to her playing on his mandoline. Stringed instruments were much preferred to the piano, even for home music. The singing school at Berlin originated in these private musical gatherings. It met at first, in 1794, twice a week, at the house of Frau Voit *née* Pappritz, wife of the surgeon-general of that name, but later on in the oval saloon



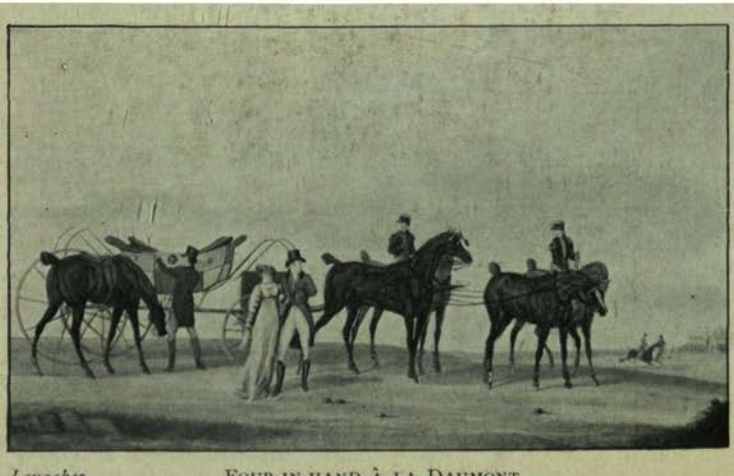
THE DANCING MANIA

Debucourt

of the academy, where the members practised under Zelter and Fasch; in 1797 the members numbered as many as seventy.

Tea-parties now superseded the gossiping coffee-parties; during the nineties the tea hour was seven o'clock. The midday dinners still consisted of a succession of courses, each of which would now be considered a dinner in itself, seven or eight dishes—roast meat, fish, poultry, salads, and pies—all being put on the table together; while the host himself served and invited his guests to eat. After the first of these substantial courses had been two or three times renewed, a final course was brought to table of all kinds of sweet dishes. Vegetables and fruits were only prized when out of season; during the winter in Petersburg the Duke of Vicenza paid five roubles each for cherries, and a louis-d'or for every pear. As the price of food increased luxuries of this kind had gradually to be forborne; in 1800 a lady of Hamburg writes that times are so bad she can only put carp and roast veal before her guests.

The chief centres of meeting for middle-class society were establishments which combined reading-room, lending library, recreation-room, and café, to which the name of



Levachez FOUR-IN-HAND À LA DAUMONT

The Repository, London, 1816

Museum was given; many had already been started in 1802 by Pinther in Dresden, Beygang in Leipzig, Campe in Hamburg, and Eszlinger in Frankfort, who allowed the regular visitors to have a share in the general management of the institution on the payment of a yearly subscription, which amounted in Leipzig, in 1796, to 12 thalers. The mania for classic forms which continued throughout this period was chiefly manifest on occasion of any festivity. Even before the Revolution the artist Mme. Vigée-Lebrun had organised symposia at which all the guests were attired in ancient costume and lay on couches instead of sitting, beautiful boys serving, and wine being drunk from vases. This kind of folly was in great measure encouraged by the pageants arranged by David in Paris; and for many years to come there was no public entertainment given in Paris, Berlin, Pyrmont, and many other places, without its accompaniment of temples, priestesses, nymphs, and such like.

The same style prevailed on occasions of private rejoicings. When the aged Herr von Manteuffel celebrated his birthday in Courland, his daughters, wishing to do him the highest honour, planned an artistic grove with an altar, on which they were to offer themselves as sacrifice; Goethe and Wolf were

Levachez FOUR-IN-HAND DRIVEN FROM THE BOX-SEAT

crowned with wreaths by young maidens as they sat at table at Helmstadt; Prince Borghese, at a ball given by him in 1810 in Paris, had the ball-room and garden paths strewed with rose leaves in imitation of imperial Rome; and the fancy dress processions at the costume-balls, as arranged by Goethe at Weimar and Councillor Hirt in Berlin, represented whole series of myths. The exaggerated value set on culture in connection with daily life conveyed a certain pedantic tone even to the amusements of the time, one of the chief patronised by society being living pictures, for which the works of famous masters were taken as models. First introduced in Vienna, this mode of amusement, especially during the court entertainments given during the Congress in 1814, created quite a furore, and soon found its way into all circles, to become the object of attraction to a whole company of spectators. What a triumph for vanity!

In order to make some distinction between themselves and the working middle-class, the members of high-class

Debucourt A RUN WITH THE HOUNDS

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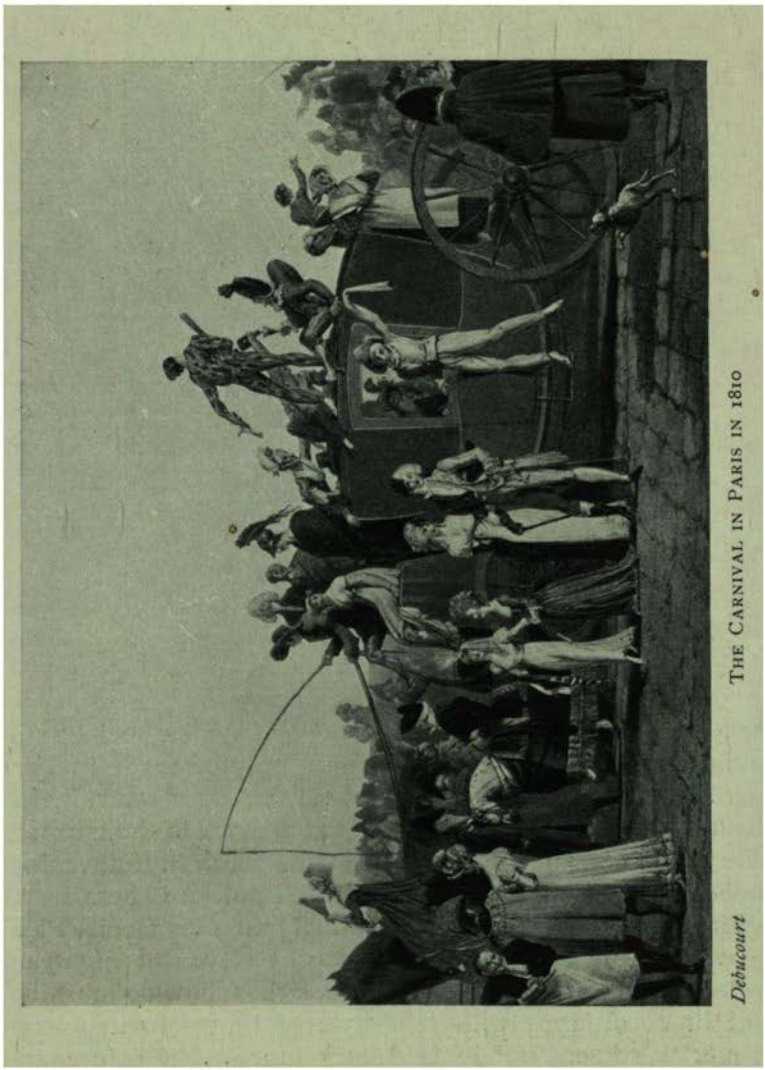


Debucourt

THE CARNIVAL IN PARIS IN 1810

Lefèvre PAULINE DUCHAMBJE

society chose the later hours of the day for their social duties and pleasures. Morning calls could only be made in Paris in 1803 between the hours of two and five ; guests were invited to supper by Count Lucchesini at two o'clock in the morning. The dinner hour in London was six and seven in the evening ; indeed, Lady Georgina Gordon would not have hers served before three o'clock in the morning ! In 1807 Count Palffy gave a ball in Vienna which began at eleven at night and ended with a breakfast at eight o'clock the following morning ; and in accordance with this style of things invitations to dinner were sent out in Hamburg four weeks beforehand. Dancing was of course the chief pleasure among the young, and the waltzer had already won his place in the ball-room.

1816 1817

La Belle Assemblée, London

L. F. Aubry PORTRAIT MINIATURE 1817

As Goethe had allowed Werther and Lotte to waltz together, "like two spheres floating round one another," it was permissible for everybody to do so. Twenty years later it had become almost the exclusive dance; at Munich, in 1810, nine waltzes were on the ball programmes. Nevertheless it was not easy for this "ally of consumption and death" wholly to supplant the minuets, gavottes, and sarabands of the older generation. Not only was it said to be injurious to the health —worse still, it undermined morality. Old Sponitzer, who in 1797 inveighed so violently against the quick German waltz, spoke contemptuously of it as the dance of drunken frenzy.

Dancing, it was thought, should be a kind of rhythmic

Opitz SKATING NEAR THE STUBENTOR BRIDGE AT VIENNA
From Leisching, "Der Wiener Kongress"

moral drama, while the dancer was to give expression in his movements to the varieties of human passion—and all this in triple time!—and he succeeded. There was the dance of "longing tenderness," of "mirth and pleasure." In 1803 the *Française* even in Paris was already forgotten, and to Reichardt's great astonishment directions had to be called out to the dancers, as no one at that time knew the figures.

That children were allowed to attend adult balls may surprise us, but there can be no doubt about it, for we hear of Mme. Tallien shedding tears of emotion on seeing her twelve-year-old daughter dancing; and Frau von Humboldt in one of her letters speaks of her two daughters, eight and ten years old respectively, as being the most sought after among the dancers of the season. At the balls in Paris the younger people danced from ten to twelve o'clock, and while they were at supper the elders had their turn. Paris, so madly fond of dancing that in 1796 it speedily converted the empty monasteries into public ball-rooms, and gave its zephyr dances among the tombstones in the churchyard of S. Sulpice,

held its most brilliant season during the winter of 1809 to 1810, just immediately before Napoleon's second marriage. These roaring festivities were wound up on July 1, 1810, by the fête given by the Prince of Schwarzenberg, so vividly described by Varnhagen and others. The ball-room caught fire, and many of the highest-born ladies met a hideous death, trampled under foot, suffocated or burnt, and among them the prince's wife herself, who rushed back to try and find her daughter. The latter escaped, to be killed forty years later by a shot during the riots in Prague.

If we turn over the theatrical programmes at that time, and bear in mind that Goethe, Schiller, Haydn, and Beethoven were then living, that Lessing had died but a short time before, and that Mozart was only just dead, we are surprised to find classic names so seldom associated with the performances. About 1790 a movement was set on foot to erect a monument to Lessing; the performance of "Minna von Barnhelm," which was given in 1791 in Cassel to help the funds for this purpose, only brought in 15 thalers and 12 groschen!

In Berlin Goethe's "Iphigenia" and "Tasso" were played to empty houses. In 1800, at the first performance of the "Iphigenia" in Vienna, the court party and all the aristocratic portion of the audience left after the second act; at the second performance there was no audience at all, and fifteen years passed before it was again given. "Don Carlos" was put on the stage about once every three years, and Berlin theatre-goers never went

to see the "Robbers" unless Iffland was playing. Haydn's "Creation," given in Paris for the first time in 1801, drew an overflowing audience, it being something of a fashionable event, but the interest taken in it was not sufficient to allow of its being performed more than twice, while the various parodies of it which appeared on different stages in Paris

Debucourt, after Vernet SPORT ON THE ICE

filled the houses for weeks. "Fidelio" waited for seven years to be repeated after its first performance on November 20, 1805. Beethoven was looked upon by contemporary musicians, such as Reichardt, as a madman, and critics reproached him with a lack of "noble simplicity" in his works, which produced on them "somewhat of the effect of uncut diamonds." There was, however, a lively amount of theatre-going; the six houses in Vienna even in 1813 were filled daily. In March 1811 as many as sixteen concerts were given in Berlin, each of which was attended by a crowded audience.

In Hamburg three theatres—an English, a German, and a French—were run at the same time. Such was the passion for acting, that in places where there was no regular theatre, amateurs played for money, as in Bremen in 1792 and in Leipzig, where besides the town theatre there were in 1800 five private stages open to the public.

Kupelweiser SCHUBERT AND HIS FRIENDS

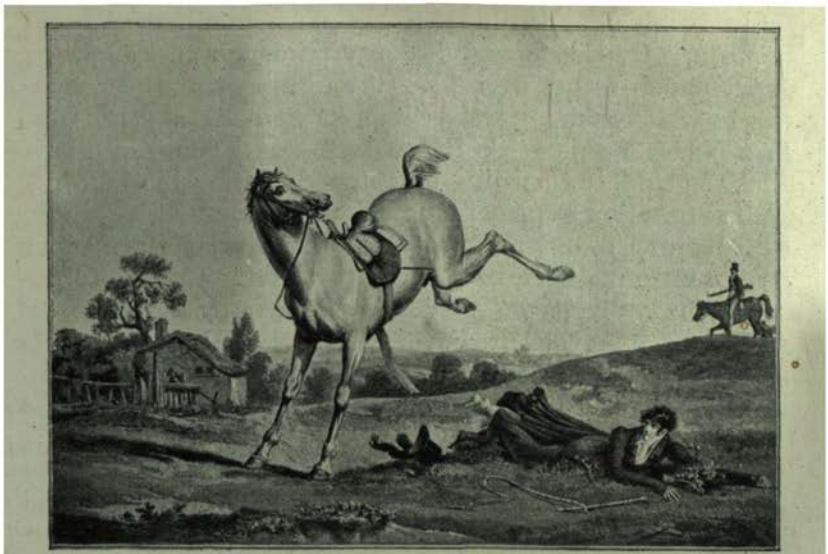
From Leisching, "Der Wiener Kongress"

Theatre-goers as a rule preferred lighter pieces to a more classical repertoire, and beside the forgotten names of Spiesz, Jünger, Vulpius, Babo, those of Iffland and Kotzebue are most often met with on the bills. The last-named knew how to catch the taste of the day, and his extraordinary fertility enabled him to supply pieces for many stages both in Germany and abroad. In Vienna he was paid 60 ducats for every new play, and in London £100; his "Virgin of the Sun," "Misanthropy and Repentance," "The Indians in England," and others, were good-paying pieces during a

Debucourt, after Vernet AT FRANCONI'S CIRCUS

course of many years. His farces are still played by strolling companies, while Iffland's more pathetic works, like "The Huntsmen," still form part of the repertoire of the larger theatres. Iffland, after Eckhof's death, was accounted the best actor in Germany; in 1796 he was engaged for Berlin at a salary of 3000 thalers: he spent a good many months of the year, however, in starring. His acting was considered so wonderful, that a whole series of engravings exist to show us how he looked in certain parts. As with the great contemporary tragedian Talma, effective attitudes and mimic grimaces had much to do with his acting. German critics found Talma's declamatory style monotonous, for he was continually letting his voice drop from the highest pitch to the lowest—from almost a shriek to a scarcely perceptible murmur.

The masters of opera during this period were Méhul, Cherubini, Paër, Salieri, Winter, Weigel, and Dittersdorf; of the singers we hear much of Mme. Paër, who was engaged



Debucourt, after Vernet AN EQUESTRIAN EPISODE

for Paris in 1806 at a salary of 30,000 francs, and still more of Angelica Catalani. The old Italian Opera Seria still dragged on a miserable existence on a few of the dusty old stages, as in Berlin, where in 1791 the eunuchs Concialini and Tosoni sang the parts of Darius and Alexander. Here also, even as late as 1811, the eunuch Tombolino, whose voice covered a range of three octaves, reaching to the second B above the stave, was engaged to sing.

Then as now, people went to the theatre to be amused and to see something pretty, and naturally the managers who offered the public most of what they wanted had the fullest cash-boxes. It was so in Paris in 1799, when the Vaudeville represented a review; and in 1809, when Rochus Pumpernickel trod the boards. But England far exceeded anything seen or heard elsewhere in the way of scenic display; at Drury Lane Theatre, where the iron curtain was first introduced, a piece was given in 1799 in the course of which a castle on the stage was blown up by a powder-mine.

In Munich, where in 1810 the much-admired piece by Holbein, "Overhaste and Jealousy," was given, the people could not even get over their astonishment at the natural way in which running water was represented; and not until 1812, when Fontenelle's "Hecuba" was given, did Berlin rival England, the burning of Troy impressing the audience on that occasion as "horribly realistic."

Encouraged by the interest in theatrical performances, various attempts were made at new effects. Goethe, for instance, had "Terence" played in Weimar by actors in old masks, and at the Théâtre Feydeau in Paris the movable scenes were replaced by fixed scenery. Clapping, again, was now heard for the first time on the occasion of the rival tragedians Duchesnois and Georges Weymer appearing on the stage in Paris in 1804; but the public could show its feelings in other ways, for at Hamburg in 1799 they actually drove an actor from the scenes by gaping.

Circuses were not generally known on the Continent; the Countess Voss went to one in Berlin, the first she had seen, in 1797, whereas in England, the land of riding and racing, they had for long been familiar entertainments. Astley's famous circus was already growing pantomimic in character; in July 1791 it gave a sketch of the flight of the French royal family to Varennes, which had taken place hardly three weeks before.

Graceful gestures and artistic poses being at that time much in favour, a new kind of performance was started and largely patronised, in which mimic art was employed to represent certain characters. Lady Emma Hamilton was the initiator of this entertainment, and she herself posed as Sophonisba, Iphigenia, a Vestal Virgin, Niobe, Cleopatra, Mary Magdalene, &c., the beauty of her figure and the feeling expression in her eyes filling all who saw her—and Goethe was among these—with rapturous delight. The Viganos, a dancing couple, then gave public performances of this kind, and their example had many imitators; their poses and those of Lady Hamilton have been preserved to us in the engravings by Rehberg and Schadow.

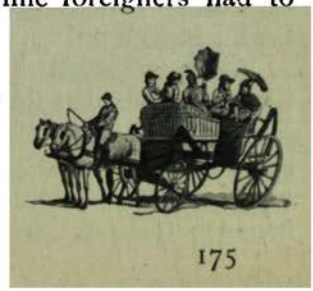
The Repository, London, 1817

In Germany Henriette Hendel-Schütz and Elise Bürger were famous as classic mimics, until they became too stout and could no longer make up for the lack of beauty and grace by their declamation or artistic arrangement of drapery. Wilhelm von Kügelgen wrote a droll account of the pantomimic exaggerations of Hendel-Schütz, and E. Th. A. Hoffmann's dog Berganza gave a satirical and lifelike sketch of the same.

At Brighton Mrs. Humphries could be seen attitudinising in the water; and a Herr von Seckendorf, who performed most of his mimic acting in Roman costume, usually wound up his entertainment by appearing in an unclothed pose as Apollo.

There now arose a generation of marvellous children who carried off the laurels from actors, singers, and artistic posers. In England the public went mad over the boy actor Betty Roscius, a tragedian aged twelve; in Germany Pixis from Mannheim and Niele from Hanover, violinists, aged respectively ten and eleven, gave concerts; and the nine-year-old Kathinka Krebs was heard in bravura songs reaching to the upper A. But even these prodigies pale before the singer Karolina Stenz; this infant artist could not, it is true, give long performances, but it must be remembered that she was only three-and-a-half years old.

Travelling in those days was not an affair of pleasure, and only those who were compelled to do so went far from home. In many German dominions it was looked upon in the eighteenth century as a prudent device of political economy to keep the roads in bad condition, for it kept the natives and their money at home, while foreigners had to pay a pretty penny for additional horses, repairs, stoppages, &c. So the roads either purposely or otherwise were neglected, and although Napoleon had fine highways made in many directions, the continual passage of his artillery waggons and train soon



Klein THE TRAVELLING-CARRIAGE

reduced them again to a state that rendered them dangerous for travelling-carriages and mail-coaches.

Complaints about the matter occur continually in the literature of the day, and that accidents to travellers were frequent is only what might have been expected. Kotzebue is incensed at the fearful state of the roads between Livonia and Naples; and whether it is Queen Luise travelling from Königsberg to Warsaw, Bettina with Lulu Jordis from Cassel to Berlin, Humboldt from Rome to Naples, or Kügelgen to Ballenstedt, it is all the same—the carriage of each and all invariably turns over. The traveller must have thought himself lucky who escaped unhurt and was not seriously injured, as was Wieland, whose carriage fell with him over the Tiefurt mountain.

Again we must mention England as an exception, and those travelling in that country could hardly conceive what it was like on the Continent. The English roads were so splendidly kept that the speed with which the coaches and carriages flew along did not always please foreigners, as for instance Campe, who travelled from Yarmouth to London,

Leprince ARRIVAL OF THE MAIL-COACH 1819

and complained that at the rate they went along he could see nothing of the country he passed through. Again, there was no end to the trickery in connection with the tolls and passports on the Continent. On the Elbe alone there were sixteen customs-houses between Dresden and Magdeburg; thirty-two on the Rhine, and twenty-two between Minden and Bremen on the Weser! When in 1812 Ferdinand Grimm wished to go only from Cassel to Munich, he was obliged to wait a whole week in Nüremberg because his passport had not been *visé* in Cassel by the Bavarian ambassador. The passports of the brothers Riepenhausen, who in 1802 went from Göttingen to Rome, were *visés* about twenty times, each occasion costing them money and inconvenience. The bad condition of the roads prolonged the shortest journeys to an unconscionable extent. It may not be surprising that it took two months to get from Berlin to Rome, while the luggage was a year on its way, or that it took a month to reach the same place from Vienna; but it is hardly credible

that Sethes, in 1803, was three days travelling from Cleve to Münster, Wilhelm Grimm, in 1816, four days in a hackney coach driving from Cassel to Leipzig, while Reichardt thought himself fortunate to be able, in 1802, to get to Paris from Frankfort in four days at the cost of 185 thalers.

With the roads in this miserable condition, the chance of accidents, and the wretched inns to put up at, it is easy to understand that everybody who could stayed at home. Owing to all these drawbacks it was a customary thing in those days for women to travel in men's dress. The beautiful and adventurous Mme. Gachet, the original of Goethe's "Natural Daughter," who was continually moving from place to place, seldom wore the clothes of her sex; Bettina and Lulu Jordis travelled as men, and even the Humboldts put their four girls into men's trousers when they took them to Rome. One reads very little of the pleasures of travel at that time; even the beauties of the surrounding country were for long unknown to most people. Carl Julius Weber, who knew Germany from end to end, heard of the beauty of the Salzkammergut for the first time in 1805; Count Stollberg did not build the Brockenhaus until 1800, and the arrival of a thousand visitors in the course of the year was considered something extraordinary.

The fashionable baths were at Pyrmont and Karlsbad; Norderney only began to be patronised about 1803. The Prussians were forbidden in 1799, by an Order in Council, to seek to restore their health at any baths outside the Prussian dominions. Pyrmont had a bad name at the end of the eighteenth century; everybody agreed that it was dirty and expensive, and that the nursing and the service were bad. The Kursaal was not lighted unless some visitor paid for the candles, but this did not stop the gambling, which was a perfect rage both with high and low. In 1812 it is reported that a servant at Pyrmont murdered an innocent boy in order to cut off his little finger which he believed would bring him luck at play.

No comfort was to be found either indoors or out. Com-

The Repository, London, 1818

plaints of the unimaginable filth even in such towns as Rome, Paris, and London were many and insistent. Merkel drew up a chart of the smells in Hamburg, and we cannot wonder at these when we recall the sanitary arrangements of those times. London had already introduced the more civilised water system in 1800, and a quarter of the houses there were fitted accordingly, but the remainder of Europe waited a very long time before it adopted any such improvement.

Through F. A. Windsor's efforts the lighting by gas was introduced into London early in the nineteenth century, and by 1815 most streets and squares were supplied with it, but the gas-lamp, as invented by Lebon, continued to be rarely seen on the Continent. People of the better class still used wax candles, while among the lower the tallow dip and pine-wood chips were being slowly supplanted by the oil-lamp fitted with the Argand burner.

The patent washing-machine was invented in England in 1790; in 1807 Colonel Wilson sent Queen Luise the first copying-press; to a Nüremberg firm is due the first electric tinder-box and night light, introduced by them in 1800.

Napoleon was given the opportunity of having the first steamship built for him, but he banished the inventor, and so Fulton was obliged to retire to New York to build his vessel, which was completed in 1806.

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